

**The Unseen Worlds of
Emma Hardinge Britten:**

**Some Chapters in the History of
Western Occultism**

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Note

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The author has retained the copyright for this work, by virtue of which he has produced the present classroom edition for free distribution to his students and colleagues. In this edition the size of the page has been increased to 8.5 x 11 inches, with consequent reduction in the whole number of pages, and the footnotes (on pages 49-63 of the original edition) have been transferred to the bottom of each page. One short sentence has been added at the end of the second paragraph on page 26, giving the year in which Ernest de Bunsen died. Bold-face numbers enclosed in angle-brackets, for example <2>, mark where each successive page ended in the original edition.

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Plate 1. Emma Hardinge in 1860, at age 37.

[Frontispiece to *Six Lectures on Theology and Nature* (Chicago, 1860).]



Plate 2. Emma Hardinge in 1869, at age 46.

[Frontispiece to *Modern American Spiritualism* (New York, 1869).]



Emma Hardinge Britten

Plate 3. Emma Hardinge Britten in 1883, at age 60.

[Frontispiece to *Autobiography* (London, 1900),
from a photograph first published without the signature
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Plate 4. Chevalier Louis de B—, as a young man.

[H. S. Olcott, *Old Diary Leaves* (New York, 1895), facing page 198.]



Plate 5. Ernest de Bunsen, as an old man.

[Edgar T. S. Dugdale, *Maurice de Bunsen: Diplomat and Friend* (London, 1934),

facing page 4.]

I

Introduction ¹

Emma Hardinge Britten (1823-1899) is, for most people, a forgotten figure, who seems to merit no more than a footnote in the separate histories of Spiritualism, the Theosophical Society and nineteenth-century occultism. Only recently, due largely to Joscelyn Godwin and John Patrick Deveney, has her historical importance begun to be reassessed.² The present monograph is meant to broaden and deepen our understanding of the several important roles which she played in public and in private throughout the years of her long life.

Emma Hardinge Britten was one of the very first and most prominent Spiritualist mediums active in the United States and England. More significantly, she seems to have been the single most influential historian of Spiritualism in the entire nineteenth century, and one of its foremost advocates and theorists. However, her impact was felt beyond the realm of alternative religion, in the kindred realms of magic and occultism. In her teen years she had served as an entranced clairvoyant for the important English magical society that is now known as the “Orphic Circle,” and several publications that she edited or wrote have preserved almost all that is now known about that society’s doctrines and practices. Several decades later, she and her husband, William Britten, were among the founding members of the Theosophical Society, and she took a leading part in its activity during the first stage of its history (1875-1876).

As a writer and public speaker, for forty years Emma Hardinge Britten voiced the need for religious, magical, occult, social and political reforms – in some cases for radical reforms, in others for moderate ones. In the late 1850s she began to speak from the platform against orthodox Christianity and the oppressive role that it had played in history, and to challenge its claim to possess a unique authority from God. Although many Spiritualists were hoping that Spiritualism would be able to reform Christianity, she declared that she was not a professed Christian and openly looked forward to a day when Spiritualism and occultism would have wholly superseded Christianity.³

¹ I would like to express my deep gratitude and appreciation to my wife, Theresa Elva Mathiesen, whose skills as an editor and proof-reader have greatly improved this work. I am also very grateful to my colleague, Dr. Mildred O. Budny, who was able to obtain a xerocopy of the only surviving copy of Dr. E. Hardinge’s work (1854), and to my former student, Ninian R. Stein, who made arrangements for me to read or xerocopy rare works by John Joseph Briggs (1852) and Ernest de Bunsen (1876, 1880, 1889a, 1890). After completing the manuscript of this work, I was able to visit the Library of the Theosophical Society at Altadena, California, where I was met with exceptional kindness by James Belderis, Head Librarian. Not only did he allow me to use the library during off-hours and to examine a xerocopy of the original minute book of the Theosophical Society for 1875-1876, but he also provided me with xerocopies of the original *Preamble and By-Laws of the Theosophical Society* (1875) and of two rare pamphlets by Emma Hardinge Britten printed in Australia in 1878 and New Zealand in 1879.

² Godwin (1990/91), esp. 66-76; Godwin (1994), esp. 200-212, 251, 273-274, 300-304, 360; Deveney (1997a), esp. 13, 19-20, 35-48; Deveney (1997b), esp. 5-16. See below, in the List of Works Cited, under surname and date for full bibliographical references.

³ Cf. Emma Hardinge Britten, “Spiritual Gifts” pt. XI (1876), 1: “Not being myself a professed Christian, I owe no allegiance to Christian dogmas.” So that readers need not carry the full bibliographies of Emma Hardinge Britten and Chevalier Louis de B— in their heads in chronological order, I shall cite their writings not by surname and date, but rather by their short titles (e.g. *Modern American Spiritualism* or *Autobiography*) or even by their abbreviated short titles (e.g. *M.A.S.* or *Autob.*). In contexts where the date of one of their writings may be

In addition, Emma Hardinge Britten was an early advocate for women's rights, though on the subject of marriage reform she took a less radical position than many other nineteenth-century feminists. In the years just before and during the War between the States (1861-1865), she was also a tireless activist for the abolition of slavery, an impassioned speaker in support of Abraham <1> Lincoln and his policies, and a skilled fund-raiser for the Sanitary Commission, which provided nursing and medical care to wounded soldiers on the Union side.

In the last decades of her life Emma Hardinge Britten strongly challenged what had by then become the prevailing orthodoxy within Spiritualism, namely, that the phenomena of the séance-room were always and only caused by the spirits of the dead. Instead, she argued that in some cases they could be and were caused by the spirits of still living men and women, and in other cases, by sub-human or super-human spirits. On this basis she argued further that nineteenth-century Spiritualism was not merely a new religion; it was also, she claimed, the rightful heir of ancient magic, witchcraft and occultism, and she urged Spiritualists to reclaim this heritage of theirs as soon as possible.⁴

All this was and is an inspiring combination of religious, magical, occult, social and political ideas. Although most of its individual components had been shaped in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it was Emma Hardinge Britten who first and most effectively brought them all together and presented them as a combination to the general public during the later nineteenth century. Though her name and her books were soon forgotten, her combination of ideas has remained potent throughout the twentieth century. Even today one can trace its impact on a number of new religious movements, the most significant of which may be the family of magical religions characterized more broadly as Neo-Paganism, or more narrowly as Witchcraft (Wicca).⁵ To judge only by the immense vitality which Neo-Paganism now exhibits, the impact of Emma Hardinge Britten's life and work will continue to be felt well into the twenty-first century.

II Early Life, 1823-1856

2.1. *Emma Floyd's Childhood and Youth to 1850.* Throughout her years as a public figure, Emma (Floyd) Hardinge Britten consistently and deliberately obscured the record of her own early life, which must therefore be painstakingly reconstructed from the scattered hints which she and others occasionally give. It is only from 1856 onward that her public life and some parts of her private life can easily be traced through her many writings and the notices of her activities which abound in Spiritualist publications. <2>

important, it will appear in parentheses after the short title, and in the footnotes these two authors will be cited by their initials, EHB (or EH until 1870) and LdB.

⁴ Her earliest clear statement of this seems to have been made in 1865, in an inspirational lecture titled "Ancient Magic and Modern Spiritualism," printed in her *Extemporaneous Addresses* (1865/6). (I have <49> not seen this publication, but the lecture in question was reprinted as a separate pamphlet in 1924.) She developed this topic in subsequent years, for example, in her "Ancient Magic, Witchcraft, and Modern Spiritualism" (1871). From 1875 onward it became a frequent theme with her (see almost all of her articles from 1872 onward in the List of Works Cited).

⁵ See now Hutton (1999) for the history of this new religious movement.

According to the record of her baptism recently discovered in the parish register for St. Matthew's Church, Bethnal Green (near Stepney), Emma was born on May 2 and baptized on May 30, 1823, the child of Ebenezer and Ann Sophia Floyd.⁶ (This is supported by the statement that Emma was 76 at the time of her death on October 2, 1899.⁷) The same baptismal record also records the Floyds' residence on Bethnal Green Road and Ebenezer Floyd's occupation as schoolmaster. Yet Emma herself spoke of her father as a sea captain, although she also mentions a painting which he made of her when she was about ten years old.⁸ Whether sea captain or schoolmaster, he was said to be "a gentleman of phenomenal abilities, wonderful powers of prevision, and other qualities of a high Spiritualistic order."⁹ Emma, too, is said to have developed similar abilities at a very early age.¹⁰

Emma's mother died on March 31, 1886, "in her 94th year," which allows us to calculate that she was born sometime in the years 1791-93, and that she was about 31 years old at the time of Emma's birth.¹¹ The one tale which Emma told of her mother's unmarried years – about a house haunted by a poltergeist and the failure of the local clergy, the mayor and a physician (Dr. Guffet) either to "lay the ghost" or to detect any imposture – took place during a visit to family friends in Tiverton, Devonshire, in 1812.¹² The obituary notice for Emma's mother described her as the "relict of Captain Floyd, of Minehead, Somersetshire"; and Emma also tells us that she herself was in or near Bristol (in Somerset) shortly after her father's death.¹³ Thus, despite her birth in the London area, Emma's more distant kin are probably to be found in Somerset and Devon counties.

Emma's father died when she was 11 years old, leaving his wife and four orphans: Emma, Thomas, Margaret and an unnamed fourth daughter.¹⁴ In 1846 Emma's brother Tom, a sailor aboard *H.M.S. Vixen*, died overseas, when he was 16 years old.¹⁵ Her sister

⁶ This discovery was made by John Clarke, and was announced by Leslie Price in his electronic journal, *Psychic Pioneer*, toward the end of 1999 (see <www.psympioneer.com/Biography/Biography.htm> and <www.psympioneer.com/News/NewsDec.htm>). EHB always spells her mother's name as Anne, but in this baptismal record it is spelled Ann.

⁷ EHB *Autobiography* (1900), 270: "her years numbered only 76." For the date of her death, see Notice (1899a) [her obituary in *The Manchester Guardian*], which is transcribed as text #3 in Appendix C below, and cf. Notice (1899b).

⁸ *Autob.* 4, 114. The long quotation on pp. 4-5 of the *Autobiography* is from LdB's article "Some Passages in the Life of Emma Hardinge-Britten" (1886), 450. However, EHB has silently changed LdB's text in several places, including this one: LdB wrote "her sailor father," which EHB altered to "her father, a sea captain."

⁹ LdB "Some Passages in the Life of Emma Hardinge-Britten," 450.

¹⁰ Child (1858), 7; *M.A.S.* 18-19; LdB "Some Passages in the Life of Emma Hardinge-Britten," 450; *Autob.* 2-6, 49.

¹¹ Notice (1886) [her obituary in *The Manchester Guardian*], which is transcribed as text #1 in Appendix C below.

¹² EHB *Nineteenth Century Miracles* (1883), 92-94, and subsequently her article "The Origin and Progress of Modern Spiritualism. Part II. – England" (1887). Much earlier she published the same story in her collection of tales *The Wildfire Club* (1861), 279-289.

¹³ Notice (1886), which is transcribed as text #1 in Appendix C below; *Autob.* 5.

¹⁴ *Autob.* 5, 22, 114.

¹⁵ *Autob.* 22-25, 42; cf. EH "Valedictory" pt. I (1865) for the time of his death. According to Colledge (1969-70) I, 597, *H.M.S. Vixen* was a wooden sloop built for the Royal Navy in 1841 and sold in 1862. <50>

Margaret married Gilberg [*sic*] Wilkinson, probably before Emma and her mother left England in 1855.¹⁶

Even as a child, Emma Floyd had shown considerable musical talent, so at age 11, impelled by the family's poverty, she began to earn a living for her family by teaching music in a school. When she was 12 years old she began her public life as a concert musician and vocalist. Her talent seems to have been so remarkable that an unnamed benefactor bore the cost of a period of musical training for her at Paris in her late teen years. However, while in Paris she lost her singing voice, and had to begin a new career as a pianist and composer. Having returned to England, Emma next found work as an actress with the Haymarket and the Adelphi companies, remaining with one company for seven years. During this time she supplemented her income from the theater by continuing to work as an organist, choir leader and composer, and as a writer for *The Musical World* and *The Court Gazette*. For her musical compositions she employed the pseudonym of Ernest <3> Reinhold. Emma's interest in music lasted all her life, and figures prominently in much of her autobiographical writing.¹⁷

Sometime before her thirteenth year Emma Floyd also began to serve as an entranced clairvoyant for the English occult society that she calls the "Orphic Circle." It is in her writings and those of her mysterious friend, Chevalier Louis de B— (the author of *Art Magic* and *Ghost Land*), that we find almost everything that is now known about this society. However, it is only due to a later unexpected event that she was able to tell us anything of real importance about its doctrines and practices. As she wrote in 1887:

When quite young, in fact, before I had attained my thirteenth year, I became acquainted with certain parties who sought me out and professed a desire to observe the somnambulic faculties for which I was then remarkable. I found my new associates to be ladies and gentlemen, mostly persons of noble rank, and during a period of several years, I, and many other young persons, assisted at their sessions in the quality of somnambulists, or mesmeric subjects. . . .

I should have known but little of its principles and practices, as I was simply what I should now call a clairvoyant, sought out by the society for my gifts in this direction, had I not, in later years, been instructed in the fundamentals of the society by the author of "Art Magic." When modern spiritualism dawned upon the world, for special reasons of my own, the fellows of my society gave me an honorary release from every obligation I had entered into with them except in the matter of secrecy. On that point I can never be released and never seek to be; but in respect to the statements I am about to make, my former associates . . . not only sanction, but command me to present to the candid enquirer [. . . the substance of the article to which these two paragraphs are an introduction].¹⁸

We shall return to the Orphic Circle later, but one question must be asked now: just when in these "later years" did Emma Floyd first become acquainted with Louis de B—? The quoted paragraphs suggest, though they do not precisely state, that it was not many years before she began to act as a Spiritualist medium, that is, before 1856 at the very latest,

¹⁶ For the name of Margaret Floyd's husband, see Notice (1865), which is transcribed as text #5 in Appendix C below.

¹⁷ The details of EH's musical and theatrical careers are to be found scattered among the following biographical and autobiographical notes: Child (1858); EH "To the Reader" in her *Six Lectures on Theology and Nature* (1860), 5-13; EH "Valedictory" (1865); Lester (1869); LdB, "Some Passages" (1886); and EHB *Autob.* 5-14, 22-23, 40-41, 46-47, 57-72. I have not attempted to identify her contributions to *The Musical World* and *The Court Gazette*.

¹⁸ EHB "Occultism Defined" (1887), 3-4.

if not before 1853 (see below). This agrees very well with another statement that she made in 1875:

In 1850 Emma Hardinge, then a resident of London, England, learned from two German gentlemen of her acquaintance some remarkable details of a society which held its sessions at Hamburg and Berlin, the chief object of which was the study and development of the occult forces latent in Nature. . . .

. . . Emma Hardinge's friends were professed materialists, and, being officers in the Prussian army, men of culture and ability, they were accustomed to strengthen their own disbelief in the soul's continued existence after death by quotations from many of the most renowned literary authorities of their own country. . . . <4>

. . . The author of "Ghost Land" was himself an initiate of their body [*i.e.* of the society at Hamburg and Berlin . . .

[. . . He was also] a clairvoyant of most remarkable lucidity and power. Being associated in intimate relations with the President of the Brotherhood, who was indeed his tutor in early youth, whilst little more than a mere child he was employed as a magnetic subject . . .

This gentleman, now a warm Spiritualist and believer in the power of *disembodied* spirits to effect what he once attributed to the spirits of mortals only, still affirms his faith in the superior force of the embodied human soul to perform feats of ponderous strength . . .¹⁹

Despite some deliberate confusion between Prussia and Austria in her account, leading her at one point to speak of "the 'Berlin Brotherhood,' Austria," it is clearly Louis de B—who is meant here; the other Prussian will then be his tutor, who bears the pseudonym Felix von Marx in *Ghost Land*. Since it otherwise neatly fits into our reconstructed chronology of her life (see below), I am inclined to accept the year 1850 as the true date when she and Louis de B— first became acquainted.²⁰

2.2. Emma Floyd and Dr. E. Hardinge, 1850-1856. Before proceeding further, we must solve – as well as we can – a delicate problem or two. Emma remained in England until 1854 or early 1855, when she was 31 years old; at that time she left England, not to return for ten years.²¹ However, in the very few places where she either mentions her age at the time of her departure from England, or hints at it, she consistently represents herself to have been about 20 years old. Indeed, in one source – an extremely important source for what follows – she is quoted as writing that she was born on May 2, 1833.²² Since this is, so far as I know, the only place where Emma actually puts the year of her birth on record, it would deserve credence, were it not for the stronger evidence of her baptismal record (cited above) that allows us to assert that she was born on May 2, 1823.

This deliberate – and minor – deception on Emma's part may, of course, have had its origin in nothing more than human vanity and the need of a professional actress to appear young in the endless competition for desirable roles on stage. Yet it must be taken into account as we turn to the very difficult questions surrounding Emma's relationship with a

¹⁹ EHB "Spiritual Gifts" pt. VII (1875), 1; also quoted by Moses (1876-77), 145-147.

²⁰ *Autob.* 123-128 strongly implies that EH had become acquainted with the fundamentals of the Orphic Circle long before 1859. In her earlier account of the same event, *Modern American Spiritualism* (1870), 294-295, the implication is less strong.

²¹ EH "Valedictory" (1865); *Autob.* 7-14.

²² Lester (1869); cf. EHB *Autob.* 11.

gentleman named Hardinge, whose name she took some years before she left England and came to the United States.

Here is an extract from some autobiographical notes that Emma Hardinge sent to C. Edwards Lester in 1869, as he published them in the *Banner of Light*:

After writing for the English press for a while, I went to America; I was twenty years old – my career there has been detailed in the printed matter I send you. Now I cannot see <5> anything better than to refer you to the printed paper No. 1, published by Dr. A. B. Child, of Boston, about three years after I first went to America, in the *Banner of Light*, as No. 5 of ‘History of Mediums.’

Of my earlier life I can only say, briefly, I was born on the 2d of May, 1833, in London. Married at fifteen a gentleman far above myself in rank; endured many reverses of fortune in various ways, and at eighteen found myself left a widow under the most calamitous and painful circumstances, with a mother (also a widow) dependent on me for support.

[Then follow three further paragraphs about her career as a musician, composer, actress and writer in England.]²³

This is all that Emma ever wrote anywhere about any early marriage of hers in England. The first challenge here is to decide whether she was referring to a marriage contracted when she was truly fifteen years old, that is, in 1838-39; or whether her marriage took place five years before she went to America, that is, in 1849-50. If the former, then the identity of her husband and the circumstances of their marriage and his death remain wholly obscure at present. But if, as is far more likely, Emma wished her correspondent to understand that she was referring to the five years just before she came to the United States, then her words mesh very well with other evidence that allows us to identify the man in question through one of his surviving publications. This, in turn, will allow us to draw some tentative conclusions about the reasons that may have impelled Emma to leave England for the United States.

According to memoirs by Rev. Charles Maurice Davies, Emma Hardinge (not yet Britten) was an actress at the Adelphi Theatre during the stage year 1850-51 – and the clear implication of Davies’ words is that this was the first year in which she came to his attention as an actress.²⁴ It has always been difficult to reconcile Davies’ testimony with Emma Hardinge’s own claim that she had been an actress in England for seven years with one company, unless one assumed that her earlier appearances on stage had been under some other surname, either her maiden name or a stage name, and that Davies had overlooked the change of surname.²⁵ In that case, Emma Floyd is likely to have taken the name Hardinge shortly before 1850, and she will almost certainly have done so because of the marriage to which she refers in the paragraphs quoted above, which (under the likelier interpretation of her words) also occurred about five years before she came to the United States, that is, about 1849-50.

Another piece of this puzzle is provided by Robert Chambers, editor of *Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal*. In April, 1853, he investigated three spirit mediums who had recently advertised their services in the *Times* of London, and published the results of his

²³ Lester (1869).

²⁴ Davies (1874) II, 42-43; more fully, Davies (1896), 93-100, 124. He stated that he had confirmed his recollection with Mrs. Frank Matthews, a veteran actress who had played opposite EH at the Adelphi in 1850-51.

²⁵ EH *Six Lect.* (1860) 8: “. . . I remained in one London theatre for seven years . . .”

investigation in his *Journal*.²⁶ Two of the mediums were visitors from the United States, whom Chambers identifies by name as Mrs. <6> Hayden and Mrs. Roberts. The third, however, was a native of England, a member of the household of a man who “is apparently a medical man,” residing at 37 Somerset Street, Portman Square; this medium “is a young woman of sickly but intelligent appearance,” as Chambers describes her. Curiously enough, Chambers names neither the medical man nor his medium.²⁷ However, the man’s name, at least, is easily ascertained from the advertisement that he placed in the London *Times* for April 9 and 11, 1853:

SPIRIT MANIFESTATIONS. – Mr. HARDINGE and ENGLISH MEDIUM will give SPIRITUAL SEANCES every evening, for the purpose of delineating the truth and use of these wonderful communications. Most interesting, instructive, and useful impressions are written out by the medium while subjected to the influence of spirits. At home for consultation from 10 till 3 o’clock. Address 37, Somerset-street, Portman-square. Evening Séances from 7 till 10.²⁸

This Dr. Hardinge is also the author of a *Course of Lectures Delivered at the Literary and Scientific Institution, Edward’s Street, Portman Square, on Tuesday Evening, February 7th [or 14th or 21st], 1854, upon that Most Important of All Subjects, Spiritual Manifestations*, the only known copy of which is in the British Library.²⁹ According to the prospectus printed in the second lecture, there were to be six lectures in all, but upon the cover of the third lecture a librarian has written “Discontinued.”³⁰ The first two lectures were published anonymously, but the third bears on its title page the words “By Dr. Hardinge”; also the author’s letters transcribed in the second lecture are signed “E. Hardinge.”

The three published lectures consist largely of records of séances that were held in Dr. Hardinge’s own family from January through April, 1853, with lengthy communications given in writing by a medium in his family and Dr. Hardinge’s own commentary thereon. During those months the medium developed her abilities: initially she could only produce spirit raps, but soon she became able to serve as a writing medium. It is abundantly clear, from his long discussion of Dr. Chambers’s articles in the second and third lectures, that Dr. Hardinge is indeed the unnamed doctor visited by Robert Chambers in April, 1853.

Here and there in the lectures one finds scattered pieces of personal information about Dr. Hardinge and about his medium. The medium is said to be 20 years old (in 1853), she is often sick or suffering, and her late grandfather was a Baptist minister named William Williams.³¹ According to the printed prospectus of the lectures, the medium herself will deliver the sixth lecture in the series, which will provide <7>

²⁶ Chambers (1853a, 1853b).

²⁷ Chambers (1853a), 322-323. Cf. Hayden (1857), who scorns the same man as “a London barber,” no doubt referring to the historic role of barbers as bloodletters and unlicensed physicians.

²⁸ Hardinge (1853).

²⁹ Hardinge (1854).

³⁰ Hardinge (1854) II, verso of front cover; III, recto of front cover. To judge by the accession dates stamped in <51> the successive parts, the Library acquired each part just two or three days after the lecture was delivered. It is not clear whether the lectures were discontinued, or only their publication.

³¹ Hardinge (1854) I, 4, 12, 30, 33; II, 9, 34.

a full and truthful account of her own experience in Spiritual Manifestations since the age of seven years.—How Spiritual Manifestations can eventually be made a blessing to mankind.—A few words to those who believe and would wish to be made Mediums.—An account of a conversation which the Medium had with a company of Mormonites.—Her acquaintance with, and the conduct of Mr. and Mrs. Roberts, the American Media, &c, &c.³²

During one séance in April, 1853, the medium's words imply that she and Dr. Hardinge are expecting their first child.³³ (Throughout the entire course of lectures it is often implied, but nowhere explicitly said, that Dr. Hardinge and his medium are husband and wife.)

Dr. E. Hardinge, we read, has a deceased brother named John and a living one named Thomas whose wife died about ten years ago. He is more than twice his medium's age and he left his paternal roof more than 25 years before he began to study animal magnetism, that is, around 1825 at the very latest. He has been practicing conventional medicine; but in February, 1853, he gave up his practice to devote himself entirely to spirit communications, which have now given him the means to cure illnesses (especially epilepsy) that are beyond the reach of most physicians. He has also given up his family connections ("for these were now nearly all against me").³⁴ He has taken to healing the sick almost without remuneration, and his medium is very irritated by their present lack of income; as Dr. Hardinge says, "On many occasions, she has thrown the pencil down, and torn the paper to-pieces [*sic*], declaring, that she would have no more to do with the affair; for, that [*sic*] we were not doing as others had done—making money by it; but losing what little we had, and our friends also."³⁵ She is also unhappy with the limited place given to music in their séances, and wishes to increase it.³⁶

This medium is not the only medium with whom Dr. Hardinge has worked. In April and May, 1853, he also received messages through an epileptic young man, Julius Hartegilligan, whom he had taken into his house as a patient. This turned out badly, for a few weeks later Hartegilligan left Dr. Hardinge's house and "made his appearance at Cheltenham, habited in a white linen robe girdled with scarlet, and equipped with a crimson mantle and a purple cap, in the character of the Jewish Messiah," declaring himself to be "*Ecce Homo*"; subsequently he emigrated to the United States.³⁷ Additionally, in his closing remarks to the third of his published lectures (delivered on February 21, 1854), right after his brief discussion of Julius Hartegilligan, Dr. Hardinge informed his audience,

With much pleasure, I also announce to you, that I have now a third lady, partially developed as a good and righteous medium. This lady, previously to my acquaintance with her, had been, for many years, a great admirer of secularists and their doctrines; but, she is, now, by the grace of God, led to fear him, and walk in his holy ways.³⁸ <8>

³² Hardinge (1854) II, verso of front cover.

³³ Hardinge (1854) III, 19-20; cf. III, 13, where it appears that Dr. Hardinge has other children (not necessarily by his medium).

³⁴ Hardinge (1854) I, 5, 9-11; II, 34.

³⁵ Hardinge (1854) II, 33 *et passim*.

³⁶ Hardinge (1854) III, 18.

³⁷ Chambers (1853a), 322-323; Hardinge (1854), II, verso of front cover; III, 20-31; Hayden (1857) ["*Ecce Homo*"]; Podmore (1902), II, 20 [the longer quotation].

³⁸ Hardinge (1854), III, 34.

It is not hard to imagine how Dr. Hardinge's principal medium (and wife, if indeed that was her station), who had become increasingly dissatisfied with his enthusiasm for spirit communications and their declining fortunes, might have reacted to this announcement. Indeed, this may have been the last straw that broke the back of their relationship, and the reason why Dr. Hardinge's remaining three lectures were never published – and perhaps never delivered.

Nowhere in all these documents is the name of Dr. Hardinge's medium given, but there is nothing in them that speaks against the possibility of her being Emma Floyd Hardinge. (To my ear, at least, the style of the medium's communications is very like Emma Hardinge's style in her earliest published lectures.) Indeed, Frank Podmore, who was in a position to ascertain the facts from living contemporaries, makes precisely this identification in his *Modern Spiritualism: A History and a Criticism* (1902) – and he does so in extremely circumspect words: Dr. Hardinge's medium “later appears on stage as Mrs. Hardinge.”³⁹ It is significant, I think, that he does not say outright that she *is* Dr. Hardinge's wife, and also does not point out to the reader that this forgotten actress known as Mrs. Hardinge – there is no reason to posit the existence of more than one actress with that aristocratic surname – is indeed the same person as the eminent trance-speaker and historian of Spiritualism, Mrs. Emma Hardinge Britten.⁴⁰ (Indeed, the only argument that can be advanced against this identification rests on Emma Hardinge's own repeated claim that she had had no personal experience of spirit mediumship prior to her arrival in New York. I find neither the claim nor the argument convincing, for reasons given below.)

Podmore may have had good reason to be so circumspect. One possible reason is simply that Emma Floyd might never have been legally married to Dr. Hardinge. Another is that they were legally married, but that she might have abandoned him – and possibly even a child by him – when she came to the United States with her mother in 1855. Either of these two possibilities, of course, would have been more than reason enough for Emma's own extreme vagueness on the subject. It is clear from a brief comment by an editor of the *Spiritual Magazine* that, when Emma returned to England in 1865 after ten years' absence and began to appear in public as an inspirational lecturer, some people in London began to talk about her to her discredit; but the editor, her staunch defender, claims only that “she has by some been confounded with two others of the same name.”⁴¹

Similarly, Rev. Charles Maurice Davies reports that Benjamin Coleman, the proprietor of the *Spiritual Magazine*, had taken him to hear these first inspirational lectures that Emma gave in London in 1865, but was annoyed to learn that Davies recognized her as the young actress who had appeared on stage at the Adelphi in 1850, and repeatedly begged him not to “publish the fact.”⁴² Whatever was being said about Emma, it must have gone beyond the mere fact that she had been an actress, for her theatrical career in the United States had already been mentioned in the same **<9>** *Spiritual Magazine* a few months earlier; rather, it must have related more specifically to her years in London around 1850.⁴³

³⁹ Podmore (1902) II, 5, 20-21.

⁴⁰ Podmore (1902) I, 265, 267; II, 133, discusses EHB only briefly as a trance-speaker; he also makes use of her works on the history of Spiritualism. See note 50 below for the aristocratic Hardinge families.

⁴¹ Editor (1866), 87. The article is largely a rejoinder to Scott (1866), which, however, does not shed any further light on the question with which we are concerned here.

⁴² Davies (1896), 97-100.

⁴³ Shorter (1865), 385-386.

Likewise, either possibility sufficiently accounts for the inconsistencies in what Emma does say about why she came to the United States in 1855. Thus, in 1858 she told Dr. Child that “a sudden pique, a whim, a quarrel with a friend, a desire for retaliation, an actress’s caprice, possessed her with a desire to run away from home for a few months” just after she had returned to London from a visit to Paris, and even impelled her to break a previous contract with a London theater and sign a new contract for the Broadway Theater at New York.⁴⁴ Yet in 1860 she wrote that she came to the United States to spend six months away from the sadness and depression of London occasioned by the horrors of the Crimean War.⁴⁵ Again, in 1869 she claimed to have been a tragically widowed young woman when she arrived in New York for the first time.⁴⁶ Finally, toward the end of her life, as she revised her earlier notes for her *Autobiography*, she said that she was still in Paris when she signed her contract for the Broadway Theater; she also gave her readers to understand that she was still unmarried, yet engaged to be married, in 1856, and that in May of that year, at the end of her New York theatrical contract, she was mysteriously led to break her engagement:

I had a certain and somewhat solemn engagement in “the Old Country,” as I had learned to call England, and one day, in answer to a letter from the party in question, urging my return, I sat down to write, purposing to inform my correspondent of my intention to be with him again in a month’s time.

In place of making this announcement, however, I deliberately wrote, and that whilst in the full possession of my senses, a description of a very rich lady who had herself made my correspondent an offer of marriage. I told him of some heavy financial difficulties he was then in, and bid him at once marry the lady who had offered herself to him, and think no more of me, for “*I should never return to England for many long years to come.*” Although deeming myself infatuated, if not insane, to write such a letter, write it I did, and sent it. By the next return post I received an answer, alleging that what I had written was quite true, and though “Heaven alone knew” where I had got the information from, especially the perfect description of the lady in question, it was all true, and since I would not return, he, the writer, had resolved to follow my instructions to the very letter by marriage with an unloved heiress.⁴⁷

Each of these four different accounts, I would suggest, gives a part of the truth about the relationship between Emma Floyd and Dr. Hardinge, and about the circumstances which ended it – but mixed in each case with a certain amount of fiction and a much greater amount of deliberately misleading ambiguity. <10>

Some light may be shed on this period in Emma Hardinge’s life by two of the thirteen stories that she published in 1861 in her book *The Wildfire Club*. The first, “Margaret Infelix, or a Narrative Concerning a Haunted Man,” is a ghost story. Its protagonist is a clergyman named Edward H., who loved a poor woman (an orphan), but promised marriage to a wealthy one. He persuaded the wealthy woman to settle her wealth on him before marriage, but then married the poor woman, who remained ignorant of her new husband’s prior engagement and the source of his wealth. In revenge, the wealthy woman arranged for her betrayer’s wife and son to be burned to death, and silently haunted him for the rest of his

⁴⁴ Child (1858).

⁴⁵ EH *Six Lect.* 8.

⁴⁶ Lester (1869). <52>

⁴⁷ EHB *Autob.* 38.

life, first as a living woman in his congregation, but eventually as a specter. By the end of the story all three characters have died miserably.⁴⁸

The other story is “The Improvisatore, or Torn Leaves from Life History,” which is by far the longest of all thirteen stories in the collection. It, too, is a tale of love betrayed for the sake of wealth, though here it is the woman – a singer and actress – who must choose between Ernest Rossi, the poor Italian musician whom she loves, and Edward Ravensworth, a rich English lord who desires her. What follows is a melodrama of passion, jealousy and nightmarish revenge, ending with the pathetic deaths of the woman and one of the men. In this story, however, the third character, Edward Ravensworth, survives and even prospers, though he stands revealed to us at the end as a sensual, vicious and deceitful man.⁴⁹

These two stories strangely echo the circumstances of Emma Hardinge’s life around 1850, as reconstructed above, and they lead me to ask whether Dr. E. Hardinge’s given name may have been Edward, and whether he may have been a relative – legitimate or illegitimate – of the various aristocrats surnamed Hardinge (who are all related to one another).⁵⁰ No doubt further research will eventually answer both questions.

In any event, Emma Hardinge resumed her career as an actress sometime in 1854, first as a member of the company of J. W. Wallack, who had engaged the Imperial Theatre in Paris for many weeks. When that engagement was over, she promptly entered into a contract with Mr. Marshall to work as an actress at the Broadway Theater in New York, from September, 1855, through May, 1856. During all these months, first in Paris and then in New York, her mother accompanied her.⁵¹

2.3. *The Chronology of Emma (Floyd) Hardinge’s Life, 1823-1856.* If all these things are so, then the most obscure part of Emma Floyd Hardinge Britten’s life will have unfolded as follows: <11>

- 1823 Emma was born to Ebenezer and Anne Sophia (Williams?) Floyd.
- 1834/5 When she was 11 her father died, and she began to support her family by her music.
- 1835/6 When she was 12 she began to appear in public on the stage as a musician.
- 1835/6 Before she was 13 (i.e. before May 2, 1836) she began several years of service as a clairvoyant for the Orphic Circle. (Chevalier Louis de B— may have made his first visits to the Orphic Circle during these years, but his friendship with Emma began later, in 1850.)
- 1839? Several years later she went to Paris for musical training, but lost her singing voice there, and turned to acting. Her mother accompanied her to Paris.
- 1842/3 By this year (at the latest) she had probably begun her career as an actress with the Haymarket and the Adelphi companies. (She said that she had been a member of one company for seven years continuously, and she would have been a member of

⁴⁸ *Wildfire Club*, 120-133.

⁴⁹ *Wildfire Club*, 134-248.

⁵⁰ Godwin (1994), 200, supports the aristocratic connection, citing unpublished research by the late Eric J. Dingwall. For the aristocratic Hardinge families see Briggs (1852), esp. 133-157, 167-184; Burke (1904), 746-747, but Dr. E. Hardinge is not mentioned in either of these sources (which confine themselves, of course, to legitimate issues). Note that EH’s choice of the given name Ernest for the poor Italian musician is likely to be connected not only with her own pseudonym as a composer (Ernest Reinhold), but also with the identity of Chevalier Louis de B—, concerning which see section 5.3 below.

⁵¹ *Autob.* 7-14; cf. EH “Valedictory” I (1865) for the exact date of her arrival in New York on August 22, 1855, aboard the ship *Pacific*.

- the other for at least one year, giving a total of at least eight years, the last of which I assume to be 1850/1.)
- 1846 Her brother Tom died overseas when he was 16.
 - 1850 She renewed her acquaintance with Louis de B—.
 - 1850 Around this year she entered Dr. Hardinge's household, perhaps as his wife, while he was still practicing medicine; he supposed her to be about 10 years younger than she truly was.
 - 1850/1 She first appeared on stage under the name of Mrs. Hardinge, at the Adelphi Theatre.
 - 1853 Beginning in February, she developed as Dr. Hardinge's medium, and he abandoned his medical practice for spiritual manifestations. As they became impoverished, her spirits (or she herself) became discontented with her lot, and voiced this discontent as early as April.
 - 1854 On February 21, Dr. Hardinge announced his sudden discovery of a second female medium at the end of his third lecture on spirit manifestations; the publication (and also the delivery?) of these lectures was discontinued without warning immediately thereafter.
 - 1854 Emma resumed her career as an actress, but in Paris, acting at the Imperial Theatre well into 1855.
 - 1855 Either at Paris or at London, shortly after completing her engagement for the Imperial Theatre, she signed a contract to act at the Broadway Theater in New York from September, 1855, through May, 1856. She and her mother arrived in New York on August 22, 1855, aboard the ship *Pacific*.
 - 1856 Near the end of her theater contract there (in May), she decided not to return to England or to Dr. Hardinge, and remained in the United States for ten years.
- <12>

III

Development as a Spiritualist, 1856-1865

3.1. *Emma Hardinge Develops as a Medium.* In 1856, in New York, Emma Hardinge gave up her career as an actress once and for all. In that same year, however, she resumed her activity as a medium.

Her account of how this happened remains substantially unchanged from its first telling in 1859 to its last in 1899, and may be summarized as follows. Toward the end of her engagement at the Broadway Theater in New York, planning to write a mocking article on the subject of Spiritualism for some London paper, she visited the medium J. B. Conklin. Almost as soon as she had arrived, before receiving any spirit-message for herself, she fled in horror, because the first message which she heard upon entering the séance-room seemed blasphemous to her. However, a theatrical friend, Mr. Augustus Fenno, then took her to visit the medium Ada (Hoyt) Coan (later Foye) for a test séance, during which she heard with alarm that she herself was a great medium, and then received a communication which convinced her that her brother, Tom, who had died ten years earlier, had successfully spoken to her from beyond the grave. When she returned home, she told her mother the whole story, and the impressive message that she had received from her dead brother at the séance effectively overcame once and for all her mother's uncompromising opposition to Spiritualism and mediumship. Then another friend, a New York music seller named Mr. Waters, assisted Emma in developing her talents as a medium, not only by prescribing

exercises for her to do, but also by taking her to a third medium, Mrs. Kellogg, to awaken the spiritual power or “magnetism” in her system. Mrs. Kellogg’s efforts were instantly successful: Emma Hardinge proved that very evening, February 19, 1856, that she could give powerful “tests of spirit identity by personations, impressions, writing, and automatic movements of my fingers over the alphabet.” From then onward she held free s ances for all who sought her services as a test medium, until May when her contract with the Broadway Theater expired.⁵²

This story makes perfect sense as an explanation of how Emma Hardinge discovered her abilities as a medium for the first time in New York in 1856. However, we now know that she had already served as a medium in Dr. Hardinge’s household at London in 1853-54. Does that mean that her account of these three New York s ances is fictional? Not at all, because the story *also* makes perfect sense as a true account of a carefully designed performance meant to overcome her own mother’s determined opposition to such things as animal magnetism, Spiritualism and mediumship. <13>

Mrs. Floyd, if we can believe her daughter’s account, had not always mistrusted Emma’s trances and visions, which had been occurring since she was a very young child.⁵³ Nor had she objected to her daughter’s work as a magnetic subject for the Orphic Circle. Rather, her opposition arose only later, during the years when Emma was studying music in Paris. During those months Emma was often called on to exhibit her powers as a magnetic subject at Pierre Erard’s piano studio. There she exhibited them to such powerful effect that Mrs. Floyd became alarmed and consulted a medical man, who in his ignorance pronounced all such things to be evil, and possibly works of Satan.⁵⁴ One may suppose that Mrs. Floyd may not have known much about her daughter’s subsequent activity as a medium in Dr. Hardinge’s household, or that Mrs. Floyd’s objections may not have prevailed against Dr. Hardinge’s wishes during those years.

Yet if Emma Hardinge was to find a new career, once the doors to the stage were closed to her in New York, and if her only other remunerative skills were those of a medium, then her mother’s opposition would have to be overcome somehow. There were only two other choices open to her, each equally grim. She might remain in New York entirely alone, since Mrs. Floyd was determined to return to England if her daughter persisted in having anything to do with mediumship. Alternatively, she might return to England (with her mother) and confront whatever difficulties awaited her there in connection with Dr. Hardinge. The messages from her deceased brother that Emma was able to bring back to her mother from the second s ance – whatever one might think their true cause to have been – effectively and permanently overcame Mrs. Floyd’s opposition to her daughter’s mediumship.

For twelve months thereafter, from June, 1856, until May, 1857, Emma Hardinge established a connection with the Society for the Diffusion of Spiritual Knowledge, holding public s ances as a test medium and offering music lessons in the Society’s rooms. At the same time she also succeeded J. H. W. Toohey as editor of its periodical, *The Christian*

⁵² *Autob.* 14-37; for minor details omitted from this account, see Child (1858); *Six Lect.* (1860), 8-10; “Valedictory” (1865) pts. I-II; *M.A.S.* 135-140. For the identity of Ada L. (Hoyt) Coan and Ada Foye, see *M.A.S.* 458, 480. Hatch (1859), 15, calls Mrs. Coan “the most popular test medium in the United States” and says that she had only recently left her husband.

⁵³ Cf. Child (1858), 7; LdB “Some Passages in the Life of Emma Hardinge-Britten,” 450; *Autob.* 2-6, 49.

⁵⁴ *Autob.* 6, 9.

Spiritualist.⁵⁵ The Society for the Diffusion of Spiritual Knowledge, chartered on June 10, 1854, in New York, seems to be the first legally organized Spiritualist society in the United States of which any record has survived. Although its trustees were twelve in number, and its other officers even more numerous, it appears to have been largely the creation of five wealthy and powerful men, and is said to have been financed largely by a sixth. The five who signed its charter were Senator Nathaniel P. Talmadge (also a former Governor of Wisconsin), Nathaniel E. Wood, General Edward F. Bullard, Judge John W. Edmonds (formerly on the New York Supreme Court) and Dr. George T. Dexter; and the businessman who underwrote much of its budget seems to have been Horace H. Day. It was immediately embroiled in controversy, in part over the profound secrecy in which it had been created, but also in part over questions of doctrine. It hired a building at 553 Broadway in New York, where it established <14> conference rooms, a library and bookstore, a printing press, and séances open to all comers without charge for several hours each day.⁵⁶

3.2. Emma Hardinge Develops as a Trance-Speaker. When *The Christian Spiritualist* ceased publication, after the issue for May, 1857, Emma Hardinge needed to find another means of support. At this juncture one of the trustees of the Society for the Diffusion of Spiritual Knowledge, General Bullard, made arrangements for her public debut as an entranced inspirational lecturer on July 5, 1857, at Troy, New York.⁵⁷

As Emma Hardinge tells the story, General Bullard was unknown to her when he answered her advertisement seeking employment as a music teacher or lady's musical companion. At their first meeting, her good friend and fellow medium, Mrs. Elizabeth J. French, approached the General in a trance to ask in the name of her own spirit guides whether he was a Spiritualist.⁵⁸ When he answered that he was, and that his wife was a medium, she then informed him of Emma Hardinge's own powers as a medium and told him that the spirits had brought him there specifically in order to make provision for Emma's new role as an inspirational speaker. Emma's genteel objections to appearing as a public speaker were overcome by this persuasion and an agreement was reached. In abject misery Emma began to write her first inspirational lecture, but her spirit guides told her that they would keep her from delivering any lecture that she might prepare – if need be, they would take away her eyesight, or even her memory. Instead, they would speak through her mouth for her once she was on the platform. In this particular instance, as it turned out, it was her own father's spirit who spoke through her, and her speech was a resounding success:

⁵⁵ Hatch (1859), 15, appears to connect Toohey's departure from *The Christian Spiritualist* with the break-up of his marriage.

⁵⁶ Capron (1855), 197-203, reprints the society's charter and list of officers for its first year. See also *M.A.S.* 133-135, 140-141; *Autob.* 38-42; and Child (1858), who also mentions that the articles signed "Ezra" in *The Christian Spiritualist* are by EH. For a different and highly critical account, see Hatch (1859), 19-21, who states that the cost of the Society for the Diffusion of Spiritual Knowledge was first underwritten by John F. Whitney, but that by 1856 Whitney had broken off his relationship with the society in disgust at the behavior of its officers and mediums. Hatch quotes at length from an unidentified article by Whitney, written in 1856, that more or less severely criticizes several unnamed mediums connected with the society; two sentences in this article – a mild criticism in comparison to what is said about the other mediums – may refer to Emma Hardinge: "We have seen a medium who was employed, during the day, in giving communications to persons from the other world, on retiring with her widowed mother, use language and expressions which would well befit the Five Points. We have seen spirits giving communications through this medium to a gentleman <53> stating that it was his departed wife, desiring that he should marry this medium" (20). [Five Points was the worst district in the slums of New York City at that time. See Deveney (1997a), 2, 374.]

⁵⁷ For the date, see *Autob.* 52; "Valedictory" pt. III.

⁵⁸ For Mrs. French's later career, see footnote 77 below.

Conducted finally to the platform, my last clear remembrance was of listening to a lovely quartette beautifully sung by the “Troy Harmonists,” and then I had a dim perception that I was myself standing outside of myself, by the side of my dear father – dead – when I was only a little child – but whose noble form I could plainly see close by me, gesticulating to, and addressing somehow, my second self, which was imitating him, and repeating all the thrilling words he was uttering.

For all the words of greeting and extravagant laudations poured into my ears when the delightful tones of “the Troy Harmonists” woke me up from the sleep into which, as it seemed, their sweet voices had put me, I could only murmur, “Do not praise me; it was my own beloved father’s Spirit that spoke.” I had no more any farther doubts or fears for the evening lecture, though then, as ever afterwards in the countless platform addresses I have given, I have seemed, and still seem, to be two individuals – one whose lips are uttering a succession of sentences, sometimes familiar to me, still oftener new and strange, but always unpremeditated by my second self; in fact, I am rather an onlooker and occasional listener than the originator of the spoken words.⁵⁹ <15>

It is a compelling and moving story, but it has one great flaw at its beginning: as a founder and trustee of the Society for the Diffusion of Spiritual Knowledge, General Bullard would already have known who and what Emma Hardinge was. Despite this flaw, however, I am unwilling to dismiss the story as a fiction. Although it does not satisfactorily account for Emma’s decision to become an inspirational lecturer and trance-speaker, *once again* it makes perfect sense as a performance for Mrs. Floyd’s benefit, in order to overcome her firm opposition to her daughter’s second new, daring career as a public lecturer. Indeed, Emma tells us explicitly that her mother was present as Mrs. French was telling General Bullard how the spirits were insisting that he arrange for Emma’s debut as a trance-lecturer.⁶⁰

Although Emma Hardinge was not the very first woman Spiritualist to make her career as a trance-lecturer, she was one of the most successful. For the next eight years she gave many inspirational lectures in trance as she traveled throughout the entire United States.⁶¹ Five of these lectures were published as pamphlets upon their delivery: *The Place and Mission of Woman* (Boston, 1859), *Marriage* (Boston, 1859), *America and Her Destiny* (New York, 1861), *A Funeral Oration on the Rev. Thomas Starr King* (San Francisco, 1864), and the most famous of all her speeches, *The Great Funeral Oration on Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1865). Another six lectures, delivered as a series, were published – together with a brief autobiographical sketch – under the title *Six Lectures on Theology and Nature* (Chicago, 1860). Taken all together, they may serve as good examples of the form and content of her early trance-lectures.⁶²

At the same time, Emma Hardinge also continued to contribute to many periodicals, including *The Spiritual Age* and *The Spiritual Telegraph*. In 1861 she published a collection of thirteen of her tales – “REAL LIFE pictures” – on Spiritualistic and occult themes under the title *The Wildfire Club* in 1861.⁶³

⁵⁹ *Autob.* 45-52 (quote on 50); cf. “Valedictory” pt. III, which gives an entirely different account of her subjective experience during her trance, with no mention of any spirit.

⁶⁰ *Autob.* 47-48.

⁶¹ *Autob.* 52-56, 73-209; cf. *M.A.S.* 294-295, 357-359, 370-375, 413-416, 431-432, 434-435, 438-458, 461-463, 490-492, 504-507, 516-518.

⁶² A full bibliography of EHB’s separately published writings in chronological order may be found in Appendix B below.

⁶³ See sections 2.1-2.2 above for comments on three of these tales.

In addition, during these years before and during the War between the States (1861-1865), Emma Hardinge was active as a social reformer, concerned first with the condition of women, and later with the abolition of slavery. Around 1860 she proposed a plan for a new “self-sustaining institution for homeless and outcast females, in which they can be employed and instructed in a progressive system of horticulture,” and she actively raised money for it. For one reason or another, the institution never came into existence, and Emma soon ceased to work on its behalf.⁶⁴ However, her lecture tours in the southern United States had left her with a decided dislike for the prevailing religious conservatism of the Old South and for the state governments that enforced it, so when the War between the States broke out, she used her considerable powers of persuasion to support the Northern side. She also raised about \$20,000 for the Sanitary Commission (an official <16> body to provide nursing and medical care for soldiers) during a 15-months’ tour of the Pacific Coast, and stumped the region for Abraham Lincoln and his policies during the Presidential campaign of 1864.⁶⁵ As noted above, one of her few separately published lectures from these years was her impassioned address at Cooper Union, New York, just after President Lincoln’s assassination in 1865: *The Great Funeral Oration on Abraham Lincoln*.

IV Career as a Spiritualist and Occultist, 1865-1899

From 1865 onward Emma Hardinge appeared before her public principally as a Spiritualist speaker and writer. Prior to that year, her only separate publications had been five pamphlets containing as many public lectures, one book containing a set of six public lectures on the same theme, and one collection of stories (many of which had been published previously in Spiritualist periodicals). Her best-known separately published works were all written after 1865, the year when she finally returned to England.⁶⁶

From 1865 to 1870 Emma Hardinge resided in England, although she traveled to other countries to lecture; she also shuttled back and forth across the Atlantic many times for various reasons.⁶⁷ In England her talents as a trance-lecturer were immediately in demand, and she appeared on the platform for a series of soirées held at London during the winter of 1865/66. These lectures of hers were published separately as they were delivered, and were also issued as a single volume, *Extemporaneous Addresses*, in 1866.⁶⁸

Mrs. Floyd accompanied her daughter back to England, where she remained for most of the rest of her life, living in London or in Manchester with the one or the other of her two daughters. At this time Emma compiled her first large historical work, *Modern American*

⁶⁴ *Six Lect.* (1860) 139-142 publishes her proposal for this Institution and appeals for donations, and Committee (1861) reports on the progress made by April, 1861. For the failure of the project see her “Valedictory” pt. III.

⁶⁵ *Autob.* 142-159, 181-209; *M.A.S.* 403-443, 490-507.

⁶⁶ EHB “Valedictory” (1865); Colby (1865).

⁶⁷ See the chronology of her life in Appendix A. Cf. *Autob.* 214: “I have made some twenty-six ocean voyages during my missionary efforts to promote the cause of Spiritualism in different parts of the world.”

⁶⁸ *Autob.* 212.

Spiritualism, which she wrote in 1867-1868, and saw through the press both in England and in America in 1869 and early 1870.⁶⁹

While tending to this business in America, Emma Hardinge married her fellow British subject, a physician named William G. P. Britten, on October 11, 1870, at Grace Church Rectory, Jersey City, New Jersey.⁷⁰ She and her new husband soon took up residence in Boston and in New York, where they remained until 1877. At first she continued to appear as an inspirational speaker, but these were difficult and dangerous years for Spiritualism in the United States, as for all other <17> reform movements. The greatest difficulties and dangers, which need not detain us long, were connected with the very questions that she had addressed in her very first published trance-lectures on *The Place and Mission of Woman* and on *Marriage* in 1859; but over the intervening years the controversy over women's rights and duties had sharpened and become much more extreme. On the one hand, a revolutionary Spiritualist, Victoria Claflin Woodhull, was advocating a radical program of sexual and marital reform under the slogan "Free Love." On the other, a reactionary Calvinist, Anthony Comstock, armed by an act of Congress with unprecedented police powers to suppress vice and obscenity, had begun to mount an all-out offensive against any public or private discussion, whether couched in political or religious terms, of social, political or religious reforms, and even against any scientific or medical investigation of marriage or sexuality. For Comstock even the political proposal that women might be given the vote was an obscene suggestion, and anyone who made it faced a long sentence in prison; indeed, on occasion Comstock boasted of the number of men and women whom he had driven to suicide by his zeal as a prosecutor. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, therefore, every would-be reformer had to fall silent or risk imprisonment.⁷¹

Emma Hardinge Britten seems to have deemed prudence the better part of valour in these years. Not only did she take a strong stand against the extreme position of "Free Love" in her published writings, but she retired from the Spiritualist platform when her stand provoked controversy.⁷² Instead, she turned her skills as an editor, freshly honed by her work on *Modern American Spiritualism*, to the challenge of editing and publishing a high-toned periodical devoted to Spiritualism, *The Western Star*. Here appeared for the first time, under the pseudonyms of "Austria" and "Asmodeus," the two gentlemen whose occult adventures, doctrines and practices were soon to be chronicled in *Art Magic* and *Ghost Land* (1876) under the other pseudonyms of "Louis de B—" and "John Cavendish Dudley."⁷³ We shall return to these books and men, and the mysteries that surround them, in the next chapter of this book. Unfortunately, only six numbers of *The Western Star* were ever published, for July through December, 1872; the ravages of the Great Boston Fire (November 9-10, 1872) cut the magazine off in its prime.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ The first edition was meant to be published in 1869 (and has that date on its title page), but was actually published in 1870. See Lester (1869); *M.A.S.* 560-565 [these pages are absent from some later editions]; *Autob.* 215.

⁷⁰ Notices (1870), which is transcribed in part as text #4 in Appendix C; Britten (1870b); *Autob.* 223. <54>

⁷¹ The literature on this topic is enormous, but access to it can be gained through Sears (1977), Stoehr (1979) and Spurlock (1988). See also Goldsmith (1998), which is the best recent study of Victoria Woodhull in this context.

⁷² *Autob.* 177-180; cf. *M.A.S.* 233-239; *N.C.M.* 427-430; and Deveney (1997a), 19-20, 44-47. (I am not quite as certain as Deveney that EHB is the person called "Mrs. E." in *M.A.S.* 234-236.)

⁷³ LdB "Ghost Land" (1872); Asmodeus "Amongst the Spirits" (1872); cf. *Gh.L.* 12.

⁷⁴ *N.C.M.* 436; *Gh.L.* 12.

Emma Hardinge Britten and her physician husband then took up a new line of work, medical electricity, and by 1875 they had established a practice in that specialty.⁷⁵ In that year, too, she wrote (and he published) a manual of the subject, *The Electric Physician; or, Self-Cure through Electricity*. This attractive and intriguing booklet ends with advertisements for their practice as well as for their apparatus, “The Home Battery Electro-Magnetic Machine, manufactured and sold only by Dr. William Britten, electric physician,” with various attachments available at additional cost. According to other advertisements on the following pages, Emma was also prepared to offer <18> lectures and classes in this system of treatment, and to “attend consultations and make examinations by the celebrated Electrical Cranial Diagnosis in person.”⁷⁶ This last skill, electrical cranial diagnosis, was also the medical specialty of Dr. Elizabeth J. French, her old staunch friend from her first months in New York, who had finally published her own important work on the subject two years earlier, in 1873: *A New Path in Electrical Therapeutics: An Account of the Author's Great Discovery of Electrical Cranial Diagnosis*.⁷⁷

The Brittens’ medical practice must have been something of a side-line, or perhaps it never became very profitable, because 1875 and 1876 were also the years of Emma’s greatest public involvement with occultism in the United States. In 1875 her good friend, Chevalier Louis de B—, once again crossed the Atlantic to investigate Spiritualism; while there, he called on the Brittens. As a result of his visit, Emma agreed to edit, and her husband to publish, two large works under the Chevalier’s name, *Art Magic* and *Ghost Land* (mentioned just above). The work of editing and publishing nearly 1,000 printed pages must have consumed much of the Brittens’ spare time during 1875 and 1876. We shall return to these books in the next section.

As if that were not enough labor, the Brittens were also two of the Spiritualists and occultists who founded the Theosophical Society in late 1875. During the first months of that Society, Emma Hardinge Britten played a significant role in its affairs – often in conflict with the Society’s only other woman founding member, H. P. Blavatsky – and the earliest formal meetings of the Theosophical Society were held at the Brittens’ home in New York nearly as often as at Madame Blavatsky’s. We shall return to this part of Emma Hardinge Britten’s life in chapter 6 below.

In 1877, with Chevalier Louis’s books safely on the market, the Brittens abandoned both their medical practice and the Theosophical Society (which had in any case become moribund by then), and went on the lecture circuit once again. This time, however, the route was a new one, taking them westward to California, next across the Pacific to the Hawaiian Islands, Australia and New Zealand, and then back to California and eastward

⁷⁵ *Autob.* 224. Cf. Morse (1877), 60: “While in Boston I visited our old friend and sister-worker, Emma Hardinge-Britten, and found her actively engaged in curative electrical practice and literary duties: her time is fully occupied.” The year of his visit was 1875.

⁷⁶ *Electric Physician*, advertisements on four unnumbered pages at the end of the volume.

⁷⁷ For EHB’s long friendship with Elizabeth J. French see *Autob.* 36-37, 47-49, 109-110. Dr. French is the author of *A New Path in Electrical Therapeutics: An Account of the Author's Great Discovery of Electrical Cranial Diagnosis* (Philadelphia, ¹1873, ²1874, ³1875, ⁴1877, ⁵1886); *A New Manual of Electro-Therapeutics, and a Brief Treatise on Anatomy and Physiology* (Chicago, 1875); *A Complete Manual of Electro-Therapeutics, and a Brief Treatise on Anatomy and Physiology* (Philadelphia, 1886); and a pamphlet, *Alcohol an Enemy to Health, Morals, and Happiness* (Philadelphia, 1873). Hatch (1859), 14, characterizes her as “a trance speaker and medical medium” in New York in the 1850s, and says that formerly she had lived in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where her husband still resided.

from there, returning to the East Coast in 1880. While in Australia and New Zealand, Emma published *The Faiths, Facts and Frauds of Religious History* and several lesser works.⁷⁸

The Brittens remained in the eastern United States for only a few months. Beginning to feel the weight of their years, and also fatigued from the effects of their last lecture tour, they returned to England in 1881 and settled at Manchester, where Emma's sister and mother already resided.⁷⁹ There Emma compiled her second large historical work, *Nineteenth Century Miracles* (Manchester, 1883, and New York, 1884), which her husband again published. On March 31, 1886, her mother, <19> Anne Sophia Floyd, died – in her 94th year! – at the Brittens' residence, after a long life rich in events and adventures.⁸⁰

In 1887 Emma Hardinge Britten worked with A. Kitson and H. A. Kersey on a Spiritualist school handbook, *The English Lyceum Manual* (Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1887), which remained in print for many decades. During the years 1887-1892 she also edited *The Two Worlds*, which at first was published by a company of which her husband was president.⁸¹ When that company failed, *The Two Worlds* was transferred to the Spiritualist publisher James Burns, and shortly thereafter Emma resigned her editorship (in February 1892). While editor of *The Two Worlds*, she also arranged for an English edition of her Australian work, *The Faiths, Facts and Frauds of Religious History* (1889). Soon after leaving *The Two Worlds*, she began her final literary effort, a periodical named *The Unseen Universe*, which she and some of her friends published at Manchester for just twelve months (April 1892 – March 1893).⁸²

On November 24, 1894, William Britten died at home; he was 73 years old, some two or three years older than his wife.⁸³ During the five years of her widowhood, Emma attempted to prepare her autobiographical sketches for publication, but without much success. As her sister wrote,

The latter part of her life was a sad and suffering one, and more especially so, as her active brain and spirit still wished to do the work she had been accustomed to, and the poor enfeebled frame and worn-out constitution prevented her carrying out her desires.⁸⁴

And so in the end it was her sister, Margaret (Floyd) Wilkinson, who had to finish this last task for her, editing it from many published and unpublished notices and memoranda. Emma Hardinge Britten died on October 2, 1899, aged 76 years.⁸⁵ A few months later, in 1900, the *Autobiography of Emma Hardinge Britten* appeared. It remains an essential source for any account of its subject's amazing and appealing life and work.

⁷⁸ *Autob.* 224-253.

⁷⁹ *Autob.* 253-261.

⁸⁰ *Autob.* 261. See Notice (1886) [her obituary in the *Manchester Guardian*], which is transcribed as text #1 in Appendix C below.

⁸¹ EHB "Salutory" (1887b); *Two Worlds Publishing* (1889-91).

⁸² See EHB "Introductory" (1892) and "Valedictory" (1893) for a brief comment on her departure from the editorship of *The Two Worlds* and for the history of *The Unseen Universe*; cf. *Autob.* viii.

⁸³ *Autob.* 261-262. See Notice (1894a) [his obituary in the *Manchester Guardian*], which is transcribed as text #2 in Appendix C below; Notice (1894b). <55>

⁸⁴ *Autob.* 263-264.

⁸⁵ *Autob.* 270. See Notice (1899a) [her obituary in the *Manchester Guardian*], which is transcribed as text #3 in Appendix C below; Notice (1899b).

V

Chevalier Louis de B— and the “Orphic Circle”

We now turn to the most tantalizing of all the mysteries about Emma Hardinge Britten, namely, the identity of her old friend, Chevalier Louis de B—, and other members of the occult society which she calls the “Orphic Circle.” (Its true name, she says, must remain forever a secret.⁸⁶) <20>

I shall say at the outset that Chevalier Louis de B— really existed and really played a certain role in the compilation and publication of *Art Magic* and *Ghost Land*. Indeed, I am confident that I have identified him. Likewise, his friend and fellow occultist, John Cavendish Dudley (another pseudonym), really existed, although I am somewhat less certain of his identity. Indeed, all of Emma Hardinge Britten’s other biographical and autobiographical fictions – like the two autobiographical narratives discussed in sections 3.1-3.2 above – have some basis in fact. Even the several chapters of her volume of occult tales, *The Wildfire Club* (1861), are said by her to rest on the lives of real people, albeit at times known to her only “from *beyond the veil*.”⁸⁷ We have already noted (in sections 2.1-2.2 above) how one of these tales is a record of an event in her mother’s life before marriage, while two others seem to draw upon aspects of Emma’s relationship with Dr. Hardinge. In my considered opinion, Emma was not *capable* of creating either Chevalier Louis or John Cavendish Dudley out of whole cloth.

5.1. Emma Hardinge Britten and Chevalier Louis de B—. As established in chapter 2 above, Emma Hardinge Britten’s connection with the Orphic Circle began before her thirteenth year (that is, before May 2, 1836) and lasted for several years. Because she served that society as an entranced clairvoyant, she learned little of its doctrines and practices at that time, that is, roughly 1835-1840. In 1850, however, she became acquainted with Chevalier Louis, who expounded them to her more fully. Although her departure from England in 1854 separated them for a time, he subsequently made three trips incognito across the Atlantic to investigate Spiritualism, and was able to visit her during two of these trips.⁸⁸ Moreover, she could have met with him during the years 1865-1872, when she spent many months in England. It is clear from their frequent expressions of mutual regard that each was the other’s trusted friend.

Chevalier Louis visited Emma Hardinge Britten in the United States during 1875, that is, “some three years after the suspension of ‘The Western Star’” at the end of 1872. During that visit he and Emma came to an agreement concerning the publication of the two works, *Art Magic* and *Ghost Land*, that she would edit for him.⁸⁹ From what she says in various

⁸⁶ This fact alone suggests that the Orphic Circle was a Rosicrucian society of one sort or another. Deveney (1997b), 7-8, cites a memoir by an early member of the Theosophical Society in which the author mentions that EHB once described the Orphic Circle as “a group of Rosicrucians.” The memoir, which I have not seen, is John W. Lovell’s “Reminiscences of Early Days of the Theosophical Society,” published serially in the first six issues of *The Canadian Theosophist*, 10 (1929).

⁸⁷ *Wildfire Club*, 8.

⁸⁸ *A.M.* 8 (trips made incognito), 439-446 (implying at least two trips), 452 (claiming three trips).

⁸⁹ *Gh.L.* 12-13; EHB “Important Notice” (1875a) states that he is still in the United States at the time, i.e., in September, 1875.

places, it is clear that neither work was given to her as a completed manuscript, ready to be edited for publication, but rather that she had to compile each work from the Chevalier's manuscripts and raw materials (which were partly in German and in French). For *Art Magic* she also had the Chevalier's "scheme" or outline of that work, which he had shared with her long before. For *Ghost Land* she also had supplementary raw materials from John Cavendish Dudley.⁹⁰ Thus it is fair to say that each book was very much a joint creation, that is, its text was the product both of his pen and of hers. <21>

Art Magic was to be published in a print run of 500 copies, for subscribers only.⁹¹ The call for subscriptions began to appear in the *Banner of Light* late in 1875.⁹² This generated some controversy in Spiritualist periodicals, which could not have hurt the sale of the work.⁹³ *Art Magic* came off the presses and was finally delivered to its subscribers in 1876. Toward the end of 1876 *Ghost Land* was published for general sale, with an advertisement at its end for the "few copies" of *Art Magic* that remained unsold.⁹⁴

The date of Louis de B—'s first visit to the United States is a bit harder to establish. From the references to it in *Art Magic* and *Ghost Land*, it must have occurred many years before his visit in 1875, yet at a time when Andrew Jackson Davis had already published a certain number of his works.⁹⁵ Only in 1892 did Emma Harding Britten provide further evidence for the date of that visit, when she began to publish a sequel ("Volume II") to *Ghost Land* in serial form in her last periodical, *The Unseen Universe*. In that sequel it is plainly stated that Louis de B— arrived in New York while Emma Hardinge – not yet Mrs. Britten – was editing *The Christian Spiritualist* and holding séances in the building where that periodical was published (that is, sometime between June, 1856, and May, 1857), and also that he spent many months investigating Spiritualism in Maine, Ohio and the District of Columbia, and also traveling to California and back by an overland route. This visit of his is also said to have taken place some ten to twelve years after the "Rochester knockings" of 1847-1848, that is, sometime between the years 1857 and 1860.⁹⁶ Chevalier Louis is said to have been accompanied on this trip by John Cavendish Dudley, who (according to the original *Ghost Land* in 1876) had already made an earlier trip to the United States to investigate Spiritualism soon after news of the Rochester knockings had reached England.⁹⁷ As it happened the two of them were joined unexpectedly in New York by a newer friend of

⁹⁰ *A.M.* 7-11; *Gh.L.* 5-14, 217, 485; *N.C.M.* 436-443.

⁹¹ EHB "Important Notice" (1875a); *A.M.* 9. However, *N.C.M.* 437 speaks of "a few hundreds, with the addition of a certain number of copies to be prepared as equivalent for losses, &c." Olcott (1895), 188, reports that the 1500 copies were actually printed, according to the printer; cf. Blavatsky *CW* I, 238, for her note of the same information.

⁹² EHB "Important Notice" first appeared in the *Banner of Light* for September 18, 1875.

⁹³ E.g. Bloede (1875a), Britten (1875b), Sayles (1875), Graham (1875), Ditson (1875), Bloede (1875b); Britten (1875c), Palmer (1876), Britten (1876a), all in the *Banner of Light*. See also Moses (1876).

⁹⁴ Colby (1876), EHB "Ghost Land" (1876c), Moses (1877); *Gh.L.* [488].

⁹⁵ *A.M.* 439-446.

⁹⁶ The "Rochester knockings" are the spirit rappings that were produced in the presence of two young girls, Catharine and Margaret Fox, at Hydesville (a small town near the city of Rochester), New York, from December, 1847, onward; on March 31, 1848, these raps were first employed to communicate information (*M.A.S.* 28-42). This latter date is usually taken to mark the birth of Spiritualism. <56>

⁹⁷ *Gh.L.* 305.

the Chevalier's from India, who is given the pseudonym of "Mons. Lotti."⁹⁸ Although the date of the Chevalier's first visit is not confirmed by any other text known to me, it does fit very well into the scant information that *Art Magic* provided about his travels, namely, that he had been in Benares in 1855-1856, in Bengal about 1860, and in Paris in 1870.⁹⁹

If Louis de B— first visited the United States in 1857-1858, remaining there for many months, then his visit may also explain another development in Emma Hardinge's life that has remained unclear up to now. When she first became a medium, whether it was in England in 1853 or in New York in 1856, she seemed to be altogether orthodox in her Christianity.¹⁰⁰ By 1860 at the latest, however, she had begun to criticize Christianity in extremely sharp terms, declaring that the Bible was not historically true, but rather was badly corrupted fragments of very ancient mythology *mistaken* by the compilers of the Old and New Testaments for actual history. This mythology, in turn, she saw as the product of equally ancient forms of worship directed toward sex <22> and fertility, toward the sun, and toward fire.¹⁰¹ She maintained the same position, with greater sophistication, in 1879 in her Australian lectures on *The Faiths, Facts and Frauds of Religious History*, and in 1889 she reprinted the latter book in England without any significant changes. In her preface to the Australian edition of that book she wrote:

The author is already in possession of an immense array of curious and recondite memoranda on this subject, furnished to her by the erudite author of "Art Magic," but as this storehouse of information is not at present accessible, and its publication would require many months of leisure to prepare, it has been deemed best to put forth a small but thoroughly analytical digest of the subjects under consideration.¹⁰²

Does this passage point to a role that Chevalier Louis may be assumed to have played in changing Emma Hardinge Britten's views on Christianity between 1855 and 1860? If so, then it is significant that, according to her *Autobiography*, she first began to give such lectures "on the Origin of All Religious Faiths" in September, 1858, that is, close to the end of the Chevalier's first visit to the United States.¹⁰³

5.2. *The Orphic Circle and its Members.* From the scant information that Louis de B— gave in *Ghost Land* and his other writings, together with the little that Emma Hardinge Britten mentioned elsewhere, it appears that the Orphic Circle had existed for some years before 1835, and that its organization had some features characteristic of Freemasonry: it met as a lodge presided over by a Grand Master and its members were sworn to secrecy. Unlike English Freemasonry, but like some kinds of European Freemasonry, the Orphic Circle admitted women as well as men to membership. During its lodge meetings the members practiced astral traveling as well as the invocation of spirits into mirrors and

⁹⁸ LdB "Extracts from 'Ghost Land,' vol. II," 115-117, 231, *et passim*. Lotti's surname is unusual; is he somehow connected to the mysterious "Ooton Liatto" who astonished H. S. Olcott with various marvels on several occasions in 1875-1876 [Godwin (1994), 297-298]?

⁹⁹ *A.M.* 194, 201, 208.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Hardinge (1854) I, 7, 30; *Autob.* 51-52.

¹⁰¹ This is reflected in her *Six Lect.* (1860).

¹⁰² *F.F.F.* (1879), 2. In *F.F.F.* (1889), 2, "The Author" is changed to "Mrs. Britten" and "is not at present accessible" to "was not accessible during her Australian tour."

¹⁰³ *Autob.* 101-103. In 1876 she wrote, "Not being myself a professed Christian, I owe no allegiance to Christian dogmas" ["Spiritual Gifts" pt. XI (1876), 1].

crystals, carrying out both activities within a ritual practice that owed something to Renaissance high magic, and entailed the use of both hymns and specially prepared fumigations. However, it was not the members themselves who traveled in spirit on the astral plane, or who saw and heard spirits in the mirrors and crystals; that was the work of young clairvoyants (also called *somnambules* or *lucides*, as in France) who had been thrown into trance by currents of animal magnetism that were produced and directed by members of the Orphic Circle (and perhaps also by the specially prepared fumigations). Moreover, the spirits in question were not, for the most part, spirits of the dead, but rather spirits that had never been incarnated in any human body.

This particular combination of practices taken from Freemasonry, from Mesmerism (or animal magnetism) and from ritual magic, as we now know, first arose in France in the late eighteenth century among identifiable groups of free-thinking aristocrats and gentlemen who were fascinated by Mesmerism, but also by occultism, and most of whom were also Freemasons (in a number of European traditions of Freemasonry mostly not recognized as legitimate by English Freemasonic authorities).¹⁰⁴ From France it spread by aristocratic channels of communication to England, where the Orphic Circle was only one of many such groups that formed to experiment with these new occult arts. It also spread from France to Germany, giving rise to analogous organizations there, one of which may underlie the “Berlin Brotherhood” (another pseudonym in *Ghost Land*), in which the young Chevalier Louis was trained as a clairvoyant by his tutor, “Felix von Marx” (yet another pseudonym).¹⁰⁵

In *Ghost Land* several members of the Orphic Circle are mentioned by pseudonym. In addition to John Cavendish Dudley, who was its Recording Secretary, they are the “venerable” Lord Vivian (also called Lord V—), the Circle’s Grand Master; Lord L—; Sir Thomas L—; Sir Peter S—; and Sir James M— (who in the same passage published elsewhere is named Mr. B— and Mr. Barton). Another member, unnamed, is “a fine old French gentleman [...] a poet improvisatore and divine harpist.”¹⁰⁶

Finally, there is one mention of a Mr. H. It is found in a long description of a meeting of the Orphic Circle that took place a number of years after the other meetings described in *Ghost Land*, sometime in the early 1850s. Although the members and clairvoyant seers present at that meeting are not named, Chevalier Louis is clearly one of them, and another is an unnamed young woman who can only be Emma herself. At that meeting they *both* saw in

¹⁰⁴ Freemasonry, Mesmerism and ceremonial magic seem first to have been combined at Lyon in the 1780s by several men who were members both of the Mesmeric society *La Concorde* and of the Freemasonic lodge *Bienfaisance*. The most prominent of these men were Jean-Baptiste Willermoz (1730-1824) and Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin (1743-1803). Both of these men were already members of the Order of the Elect Cohens (*Elus Coëns*), founded by the enigmatic J. Martines de Pasqually (1727?-1774). The Elect Cohens, as they were originally founded, were a quasi-Masonic order which met in lodges to work theurgy, and used the rituals of ceremonial magic as the best available means to that end. See Faivre (1994), 71-81, 147-162.

¹⁰⁵ Gauld (1992), pt. I, esp. chs. 2-4, 6, 8-9, gives the best account of this movement.

¹⁰⁶ *Gh.L.* 81 (Sir James M—); 100, 254, 261-263, 266 (Lord Vivian or Lord V—); 248, 250-251 (Lord L— and Sir Peter S—); 293 (Sir Thomas L—); 301 (the old French gentleman). EHB clearly had some difficulty or apprehension in connection with the person whom she named Sir James M— in the 1876 version of *Ghost Land*, and who was mentioned only once in that book (*Gh.L.* 81). In the first version of that chapter, which had been published by her in *The Western Star* in 1872, this same character had been named Mr. Barton, and he had been mentioned twice (pp. 376, 380), the second time as the person who placed the seer from Skye in the service of one of his friends as a gardener. In 1876, when *Ghost Land* was published as a separate book, Richard F. Burton was very much alive, whereas Richard James Morrison had died two years earlier and could no longer object to any hints concerning his occult activities. In 1888 EHB republished the same section of *Ghost Land* in *The Two Worlds* [LdeB (1888)]; here, too, the character is mentioned twice, both times as Mr. B— (p. 423 twice). <57>

a mirror, among other things, two spirits who displayed to them a book that is surely meant to be *Art Magic*, as yet unwritten. She then informed him that

she had seen these spirits before, had been told that they were planetary spirits, the guardians of a mirror belonging to a friend whom she occasionally visited, and that the book which they thus presented was one which for ages they had been endeavoring to inspire some earthly scribe to write. She added, “These spirits seemed, when first I saw them at my friend Mr. H.’s, to beseech me to write that book; but it now appears as if they had transferred their plea to you, and I cannot but think the vision is significant of the prophecy that you are destined to write it.”¹⁰⁷

The mirror-gazer named Mr. H. is certainly also the unnamed “successful Adept of the present generation” who received from “a Planetary spirit – the guardian of his mirror” a particular short treatise and ritual about “the best method of divination, also of receiving communications from spirits” which is published in *Art Magic*.¹⁰⁸ This treatise allows us to determine the identity of <24> Mr. H., establishing beyond any question that he is Frederick Hockley, arguably the most important occultist of the early nineteenth century.¹⁰⁹ As it happens, the text published in *Art Magic* is almost the same as a text received by one of the young clairvoyant women employed by Hockley, who transcribed it in his private notebooks (his Crystal Manuscripts, as they have come to be called). Although Hockley allowed almost no one to see his Crystal Manuscripts under any circumstances, he did on one occasion allow one of his friends, the occultist F. G. Irwin, to copy this particular text. Most of Hockley’s Crystal Manuscripts have been lost, but Irwin’s copy of this text survives and has been published.¹¹⁰ I give both texts in parallel columns in Appendix D, so that the reader may judge their identity for himself.

Since Mr. H. is Frederick Hockley (1808-1885), the Orphic Circle will necessarily have included some of the gentlemen and gentlewomen of his acquaintance who are known to have shared his interest in crystal- and mirror-gazing. The careful research of Joscelyn Godwin has shed a good deal of light on most of these people, among whom were the following (listed in order of their death):

- John Varley (1778-1842), an artist and astrologer;
- Marguerite, the Countess of Blessington (1789-1849);
- Philip Henry, the Earl of Stanhope (1781-1855);
- Edward Bulwer-Lytton (1805-1873), the author of *Zanoni* and other novels;
- Richard James Morrison (1795-1874), otherwise the astrologer Zadkiel;
- Alexander William, the Earl of Crawford (1812-1880), otherwise the Master of Lindsay;
- Richard F. Burton (1821-1890), the renowned explorer and translator.¹¹¹

It does not take much imagination to identify the individuals in this list whose names may have inspired the other pseudonyms in *Ghost Land*, especially if one doesn’t worry too

¹⁰⁷ *Gb.L.* 100-104 (quote from 103-104).

¹⁰⁸ *A.M.* 419-423.

¹⁰⁹ That Frederick Hockley (like Mr. H.) and EHB were indeed friends is suggested by two data that happen to have survived: sometime before 1870 Hockley allowed EHB to use some of his consecrated mirrors for visionary purposes [Hamill (1986), 132-133]; also, Hockley owned a copy of the first edition of *Ghost Land* with a “letter from the authoress [*sic*] inserted” [Machen (1887), 4]. If this copy of *Ghost Land* has survived, and could be found in some library, the letter inserted in it might provide valuable testimony as to the membership of the Orphic Circle.

¹¹⁰ Hamill (1986), 112-114. Cf. Hamill (1986), 97 (Hockley’s Crystal Manuscripts were kept under lock and key, and nobody was allowed to see them), 133 (Hockley allowed EH to look into his consecrated mirrors).

¹¹¹ Godwin (1994), 170-185 *et passim*.

much about their titles, and also remembers that *Ghost Land* cannot be taken as an accurate chronicle of anyone's true history or whereabouts at any particular time.¹¹² Mr. B— or Mr. Barton suggests Richard F. Burton; Sir James M—, Richard James Morrison; Lord L—, Edward Bulwer-Lytton or the Master of Lindsay; and Sir Peter S—, Philip Henry Stanhope. The “venerable” Lord V— (or Lord Vivian) may be an older man, like Varley (although Varley had no title), or the adjective “venerable” may be a title of the Orphic Circle's Grand Master, as it is in the Order of the Elect Cohens. As for the “fine old French gentleman [...] harpist,” if he is not a complete fiction, he may owe something to memories of the foremost French practitioner of magical mesmerism, Jules Dupotet de Sennevoy (1798-1881), who was in London, and patronized by Lord Stanhope, during the years 1837-1839.¹¹³ <25>

In 1887 Emma Hardinge Britten refers to a rule of the Orphic Circle that its members should never be

named, until they passed from earth to the higher life. It is in virtue of this last clause that I am at liberty to say that Lord Lytton, the Earl of Stanhope, and Lieut. Morrison (better known as “Zadkiel”), and the author of “Art Magic,” belonged to this society.¹¹⁴

As these three names are on the above list, the quoted words confirm, though only in a general sort of way, the conclusions that followed from our identification of “Mr. H” as Frederick Hockley.

Since Emma Hardinge Britten does not claim to name all deceased members here, but is clearly only dropping a few famous names, the quoted sentences should *not* to be taken as evidence that any other person, such as Varley or Lady Blessington, was not a member of the Orphic Circle. Nor should they be taken as proving – despite the strict construction of their syntax – that Chevalier Louis had died by 1887, since his real name is never given. Indeed, she published his sequel to *Ghost Land* in 1892. He may perhaps also be “Nemo,” the anonymous supporter who unexpectedly donated £1,200 during 1889 and 1890 to save her earlier periodical, *The Two Worlds*, from financial ruin.¹¹⁵

5.3. The Identity of Chevalier Louis de B—. Who, then, was Louis de B— in real life? Even if the precise details of time and place given in *Ghost Land* and his other writings

¹¹² I must repeat that, although Chevalier Louis was a real person whom I believe I have identified, *Ghost Land* is a work of fiction, not a historical record of that real person's history as an occultist. According to *Ghost Land*, Chevalier Louis's visit to England lasted somewhat more than one year, and ended not too long after 1848, when he was “little more than twenty years of age” (265). Also, in a private letter dated September 18, 1876, EHB says that Chevalier Louis was 48 years old the previous winter [Gomes (1987), 117]. Both of these statements suggest that he was born in 1827 or 1828. However, EHB herself worked for the Orphic Circle as a clairvoyant ca. 1835-1840, and began to cultivate her acquaintance with Chevalier Louis in 1850, at which time he had already become quite familiar with the doctrines and practices of the Orphic Circle. He would probably not have been willing to discuss these doctrines and practices with her unless he knew at first hand about her former connection with the Orphic Circle as a juvenile clairvoyant; this may mean that he had entered the Orphic Circle before she ceased to work for it, that is, before ca. 1840. If so, then Chevalier Louis may have been born perhaps as much as a decade before 1827-1828, and may have entered the Orphic Circle for the first time on a visit to England toward the end of the 1830s. In that event, many of the references that *Ghost Land* makes to historical events and figures must be recognized as anachronisms, due either to the fictional character of the work or perhaps to its editor's creative reworking of events that actually occurred many years apart into a narrative that spanned a few months only.

¹¹³ Gauld (1992), 174-175, 199-200; Godwin (1994) 156-157, 182.

¹¹⁴ “Occultism Defined,” 4. <58>

¹¹⁵ *Two Worlds Publishing* (1889-1891) pt. II, 157; pt. III, 171.

may be untrustworthy, certain things have become clear. He was a Prussian by nationality, though not born in Germany. He was a member of the nobility, though not of a high rank, and he was at home among the aristocracy. He received his military training as a young man in Berlin, and saw active military service afterwards. Yet he was closely connected with England as an adult, took an Englishwoman to wife, and eventually made his home in England. His spoken English was fluent, but he always found it easier to write in German or French. He traveled extensively, not only in Europe, but also to more exotic lands; from this it follows that he had some money. Despite his extensive travels, he was not always a person of great strength or stamina. He was passionately interested in the occult sciences and in the history and development of the world's religions, and was sharply critical of Christian orthodoxy, arguing (like Emma Hardinge Britten) that much of the Bible could be best interpreted as a garbled record of ancient solar, sex and fire worship. He was an occultist before he became a Spiritualist, having been taught in his youth that man did not survive death; but his exposure to Spiritualism (in part under Emma Hardinge Britten's guidance) eventually compelled him to revise his opinion. He was connected with the Orphic Circle, though <26> his initial occult training had been received in another society at Berlin. However, he became well acquainted with Emma Hardinge only in 1850, after she had ceased to serve as a clairvoyant for the Orphic Circle. He was roughly of her generation, though a bit older. Like her, he was also a musician. These shared interests enhanced their friendship, which lasted until death. Although she named him Louis, the name Ernest was also somehow a significant part of his identity.¹¹⁶ As we have seen in connection with the other pseudonyms in *Ghost Land*, his real surname may well have begun with the letter B. And there are likely to have been uncommonly compelling reasons for hiding his identity from the world.

There was in fact a known person who appears to have had all these characteristics. He was the second son of a Prussian father and an English mother, and he was born in Rome in 1819. His name in German was originally Ernst Christian Ludwig von Bunsen, but in England he was known as Ernest de Bunsen, and his middle names were Christian and Louis.¹¹⁷ His childhood was spent mostly in Rome and in London, but when he was about fifteen his father sent him to Berlin to receive military training as a cadet. At about 18, having completed his military training, he became a lieutenant in the Prussian army. When he was 24, however, a severe illness largely ended his military career, and he returned to England in 1843. In 1845 he married an Englishwoman, Elizabeth Gurney, and, apart from his travels, lived the rest of his life in London, eventually becoming an English subject. He died in 1903.

Having become comfortably wealthy as a result of his marriage, Ernest de Bunsen was free to spend most of his time in study. During the years 1865-1892 he published a dozen substantial critical works on the secret history of the world's religions, the occult symbolism and teaching hidden in the Bible, and the forgotten roots of Christianity. Half of these works were published in German, the other half in English, under titles such as

- *The Keys of Saint Peter; or, the House of Rechab, Connected with the History of Symbolism and Idolatry* (1867),
- *The Symbol of the Cross among All the Nations and the Origin of the Christian Church's Cross-Symbol* (1876, in German),
- *The Pleiades and the Zodiac, or the Secret of the Symbols* (1879, in German),
- *The Angel-Messiah of Buddhists, Essenes and Christians* (1880),

¹¹⁶ *Gh.L.* 229-232.

¹¹⁷ For the circumstances of his life see especially *D.N.B.* suppl. for 1901-1911, 255-256; Deichmann (1926), esp. 1-2, 8-9, 15-16, 20-21, 53-54; Dugdale (1934), esp. 1-7, 190-193.

- *The Tradition: Its Origin and Development* (1889, in German),
- *Islam or True Christianity, Including a Chapter on Mahomed's Place in the Church* (1889), and
- *Origin and Development of the Trinitarian Doctrine* (1890).¹¹⁸ <27>

As will appear below, his views in these works greatly resemble those put forward in *Art Magic* and *Ghost Land*, though he presents them with much greater scholarship and sophistication. In his later life, at least, he believed in the possibilities of Spiritualism, and frequently took part in séances.¹¹⁹

Ernest de Bunsen's other passion, after scholarship, was music, in which he was extraordinarily talented; one critic judged him to be the "finest amateur" singer whom he had ever encountered.¹²⁰ Guests from exotic lands were particularly welcome as visitors to his home. One of his great-nephews remembered him, from a small child's point of view, as "a phenomenon of nature quite cut off from any common life," and as "richly, awfully exotic, a racial mystery of striking configuration"; also as speaking "in a guttural tone" and walking "with short stumping paces."¹²¹ The one photograph of Ernest de Bunsen which has been published, taken when he was an old man, is nevertheless consistent in its facial features (note especially the eyes and the chin) with the drawing of Louis de B— as a young man that Emma Hardinge Britten showed at one time to Helena P. Blavatsky and Henry S. Olcott, and that Olcott was later able to obtain and publish in his *Old Diary Leaves*.¹²²

If this man is indeed Louis de B—, he might reasonably have been given his father's title of "Chevalier." Moreover, there were indeed extremely compelling mundane reasons for burying his identity in the deepest secrecy. His father was the late Christian Carl Josias von Bunsen, an eminent scholar of the history of religions, but also one of the most famous diplomats of the nineteenth century, who served as Prussian ambassador to England during the years 1841-1854. This diplomatic position warranted a title, and so in England Christian Carl Josias von Bunsen always styled himself "Chevalier de Bunsen," although he was only the son of a poor farmer. Two of Chevalier de Bunsen's sons, that is, two of Ernest de Bunsen's brothers, served in the Prussian diplomatic corps all their lives (Karl and Theodor von Bunsen), and a third son was a statesman and politician in Prussia (Georg von Bunsen). The eldest of the five sons (Henry de Bunsen) became a priest in the Church of England and – like Ernest de Bunsen – an English subject. Moreover, at the time when *Art Magic* and *Ghost Land* were being published, Ernest de Bunsen's only surviving son, Maurice de Bunsen, was just beginning his own career as a member of the British diplomatic corps; his first post would be at the British embassy in Washington, D. C. (1878-1881).¹²³ One can easily appreciate how much might have been at stake for all these churchmen, statesmen and diplomats, and particularly for young Maurice, if ever it became known that a member of

¹¹⁸ I list only those works of his that I have been able to examine for myself, and one other work (*The Pleiades and the Zodiac*) that seems particularly relevant to the present investigation. See Appendix E for a bibliography of all his scholarly works.

¹¹⁹ Deichmann (1926), 20-21, 296. Hilda (de Bunsen) Deichmann, Ernest de Bunsen's daughter, was herself a Spiritualist and maintained connections with the Theosophical Society. Cf. her two mystical books obtained by automatic writing, Deichmann (1910 and 1913).

¹²⁰ Deichmann (1926), 9.

¹²¹ Dugdale (1934), 5.

¹²² Dugdale (1934), plate facing p. 4; Olcott (1895), 193-201 and plate facing p. 198 [reproduced by Godwin (1994), 301].

¹²³ For Maurice de Bunsen's life see Dugdale (1934). Publications by and about Carl Christian Josias von Bunsen and his family through four generations are very numerous, indeed; as they are easily retrieved from various bibliographical databases, they need not be listed here.

their immediate family had written a serious treatise about the practice of magic (*Art Magic*) and was the subject of an occult memoir (*Ghost Land*).

The relatively small amount of published information on Ernest de Bunsen does not allow me to determine whether he traveled to the United States during the years when Louis de B— <28> is said to have done so, but neither is there anything in that literature which would rule out this possibility. What I have been able to discover so far is no more than suggestive, although strongly so; research in the de Bunsen family papers might settle the question one way or the other.

5.4. Ernest de Bunsen's Views and Those of Louis de B—. I have been able to examine only six of Ernest de Bunsen's published writings so far; they are the ones listed above, except for *The Pleiades and the Zodiac*. All six of these works start from the same set of general premises, but each of them develops these premises in a different direction from the one taken by the preceding work; yet all six of them take the same very broad view of the nature of true religion *and of true magic*. This view is present in its essentials even in the earliest of the six works, where it is presented with great caution; in his later, more daring works, it is presented much more openly.

Some of Ernest de Bunsen's premises pertain to all religions, and to magic. Others pertain specifically to the history of Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam, and are of less interest to us here, except insofar as they may shed light on certain peculiar ideas in *Art Magic* and *Ghost Land*. I shall touch on only a few of the most compelling similarities between the views of Ernest de Bunsen and those of Louis de B— here, for lack of space and time.

In all of his works, Ernest de Bunsen assumes that there truly exists in every human being a certain natural power or ability which has been called by such names as *maga*, magic powers, spiritual power, Spirit Power, the Spirit of God, the Name of God, the Name of Jesus, and even the Holy Spirit. Despite the literal *meanings* of some of these terms, what they all *refer* to is neither a personal spirit nor a name, nor even the Third Person in the Triune God of Christianity; rather, it is a natural power or ability not yet understood by science. Those who have recognized this power or ability in themselves, and have developed it or learned how to use it, are able at will to work miracles, to predict the future, to command extraordinary wisdom, to heal the body or the mind in cases where materialistic medicine cannot, to produce all the many phenomena of the Spiritualist séance-room, to manifest each and every Yogic *siddhi* (that is, supernatural ability), to work magic, and so forth. They may belong to any religion, or to none; they may do good, or do evil. They are variously termed priests, prophets, seers, messiahs, magicians, mediums, witches, and other such terms. Despite the differences between them in religion and title, they all use the same natural power. It is this same power that enabled such people as Moses, Zoroaster, Buddha, Jesus and Mohammed to work all their miracles and found their religions; but with sufficient mastery, anyone might do the same things as these five men did.¹²⁴ This, of course, is also precisely the main premise of *Art Magic* and *Ghost Land*. <29>

Ernest De Bunsen also premises that all ancient sacred writings, including the Bible, contain many passages derived from still more ancient, unwritten religions that reach back to the dawn of humanity, and that many of these passages distort their sources: often the sacred writers mistook myth for history or prophecy, or symbol for historical fact. The most

¹²⁴ De Bunsen (1889b), 36-85, gives the fullest account of these premises in English; de Bunsen (1889a), I, 275-339; II, 23-49, the fullest account in German. See also de Bunsen (1867), 202; de Bunsen (1880), 1-9, 34, 112-113.

ancient unwritten religion of humanity, according to de Bunsen, was based on “Nature’s combat between light and darkness,” that is, between day and night, and also between summer and winter; a similar internal struggle within every human being, viewed as a war between good and evil, birth and death, or creation and destruction, gave a symbolic, moral aspect to this combat between light and darkness, and resulted in the creation of the earliest myths. Although these myths are lost to us in their original form, elements of their content can be recovered by comparing the most ancient sacred writings with one another. They have also left compelling evidence of their existence in “the most ancient monument of human Spirit Power, the design of star figures.”¹²⁵ It is in the symbolism of the constellations, especially those of the Zodiac and their neighbors, and also in the symbolism of such related astronomical phenomena as the equinoxes and solstices, that one may still read the principal myths of this most ancient religion of the human species. One of these myths told of a virgin who is menaced by a serpent (the constellations of Virgo and Serpens), but who at the time of the winter solstice shall give birth to a messiah or savior. The messianic prophecies of Christianity and Buddhism, for instance, are the work of sacred writers who mistook this myth for a record of a history of salvation that was yet to take place.¹²⁶

Not only may myths be mistaken as history or prophecy; symbols derived from them may be reduced to historical persons (or even to false deities or idols). Indeed, the elite guardians of secret traditions may even have encouraged this process at various times and places, in order to reserve for themselves all knowledge of the existence of Spirit Power and the methods for its cultivation and use. All ancient sacred writings have been more or less affected by this process of reservation.¹²⁷ Although de Bunsen’s account of these ancient myths and symbols, and of how they were misunderstood by the writers of the Bible, differs in many small details from the similar account in *Art Magic*, and also in Emma Hardinge Britten’s *Six Lectures on Theology and Nature* (1860) and *The Faiths, Facts and Frauds of Religious History* (1879), nevertheless the two accounts are cut very much from the same cloth, and stand in a close relation to one another.

According to Ernest de Bunsen, some people are more able by nature than others to use the Spirit Power that inheres in every human being, but it is also possible to train people to use this Spirit Power more effectively. In the history of Israel, such training was originally reserved for the very highest levels of the priesthood; indeed, it was only high priests themselves who could use the two mysterious artifacts called Urim and Thummim to receive oracles from God about important matters of state.¹²⁸ Later, however, this high-priestly monopoly was broken by the prophet Samuel.

According to Ernest de Bunsen, Samuel founded a *school of prophets* at Naioth; later, other schools of prophets were established by Elijah at Gilgal and Jericho. These schools served to train young people in the use of Spirit Power – which (it is claimed) enables its users, among other things, to work miracles and to foresee the future.¹²⁹ However, such schools of

¹²⁵ De Bunsen (1899b), 1 [both quotes].

¹²⁶ De Bunsen (1889b), 1-35, 171-173, plate, and de Bunsen (1890) give the fullest account of these premises in English; de Bunsen (1889a), I, 87-114, 128-156, 168-221, 263-274, 342-343; II, 1-22, 300-301, plate, the fullest account in German. See also de Bunsen (1880), 1-76, 104-110, in English.

¹²⁷ De Bunsen (1867), 75-126, 203-220, 397-422; de Bunsen (1876); de Bunsen (1889a), I, 17-38, 109-114, 128-167, 263-339; II, 131-244; de Bunsen (1890). <59>

¹²⁸ De Bunsen (1867), 10-11, 96, 133, 162, 165, 267, 317; de Bunsen (1889a), II, 33-34; de Bunsen (1899b), 51-52, 55, 61-63.

¹²⁹ De Bunsen (1867), 133, 151, 162-166, 245; see also de Bunsen (1889a), II, 34; de Bunsen (1899b), 52-54.

prophets are one of de Bunsen's more daring historical speculations. There is no mention, so far as I can determine, of a "school of prophets" anywhere in the Bible. "Companies of prophets" are briefly mentioned in connection with Samuel (at Naioth), and "sons of the prophets" in connection with Elijah (at Beth-el, Jericho and Gilgal), but these passages offer no evidence for the sort of training program envisioned here.¹³⁰ Nor do such schools of prophets seem to have been a commonplace of Biblical interpretation or scholarship in the nineteenth century. Rather, we are dealing here with de Bunsen's own speculation, which rests on a very weak textual foundation.

In the light of this, it is extraordinarily significant that exactly the same notion of a *school of prophets*, founded to train people in the use of Spirit Power, plays a very large role indeed at the end of *Art Magic*. I shall quote the long passage about a school of prophets in the next chapter; here it will be enough to say that I regard this particular similarity between Ernest de Bunsen's views and those of Chevalier Louis de B— as the single strongest piece of evidence for their identity.

One thing more: if Ernest de Bunsen is indeed Chevalier Louis de B—, the person represented as the author of *Art Magic* and the protagonist and main source for *Ghost Land*, then it must be noted immediately that Ernest de Bunsen's style in English is so different from that of Chevalier Louis as to require some explanation. Fortunately, a good explanation is easily found. As noted above, Emma Hardinge Britten's editorial work on *Art Magic* and *Ghost Land* went far beyond what an editor usually does for an author. Neither work was given to her as a completed manuscript, needing only to be made ready for the printer. Instead, she compiled each work from the Chevalier's own notes and raw materials (which, moreover, were partly in German and in French). For *Art Magic* she also had an outline of the whole work. For *Ghost Land* she had additional raw materials from the Chevalier's old friend, John Cavendish Dudley.¹³¹ Therefore, as stated above, each book was very much a joint creation, that is, its text was the product both of Chevalier Louis's pen and of Emma Hardinge Britten's. This is also implied by the "Dedication" in *Art Magic*, which reads:

To S. and F.
Thine be the glory, thine the flame;
Mine be the censure, mine the blame. <31>
If to know more the world demands
Let it read this —
GOD
UNDERSTANDS

Here S. certainly refers to Emma Hardinge Britten herself, under the initial of her occult pseudonym, Sirius (the brightest *star* of them all!); F. most likely refers to William Britten.¹³²

¹³⁰ I Samuel 10:1-14 [companies of prophets; Beth-el and Gilgal]; 19:18-24 [company of prophets; Naioth]; I Kings 20:35-42 [sons of the prophets]; II Kings 2:1-18 [sons of the prophets; Beth-el and Jericho], 4:1 [sons of the prophets], 4:38-41 [sons of the prophets; Gilgal].

¹³¹ *A.M.* 7-11; *Gh.L.* 5-14, 217, 485; *N.C.M.* 436-443.

¹³² For "Sirius" see EHB (1872a, 1872b, 1888a, 1888b, 1888c, 1888d, 1888e). The fact that William Britten possessed a similar occult pseudonym is of some interest, and may shed some light upon that enigmatic man. (If I had to guess, I would conjecture that F. stood for Fidelis. But this is only a guess.)

Thus we can finally assess somewhat more precisely the character of the author's and the editor's collaboration and the extent of each person's contribution to each of these two books. The outline of *Art Magic* and much of its content came from the mind of Chevalier Louis, that is, Ernest de Bunsen, but most of the words that express this content came from the pen of Emma Hardinge Britten. All that she had to work from were his notes and raw materials in manuscript, which might even have been no more than a series of long letters that he could have written to her over the years to explain his views more fully; the books of his that would be most relevant to *Art Magic* had not yet appeared in print, and in any case they were to be published in German, not in English. Where these raw materials did not suffice to round out a section of *Art Magic*, she drew freely on other sources, for instance, on her own copy of a seventeenth-century printed book containing English translations of Agrippa's (spurious) *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, Peter D'Abano's *Heptameron, or Magical Elements*, and several other such short treatises.¹³³ In doing this, she often distorted his views to some extent, and, of course, the material that she added from other sources cannot be expected to reflect his views at all. As for *Ghost Land*, it is likely to be even less the product of his pen (and his mind) than *Art Magic*, though again it clearly reflects Ernest de Bunsen's views and probably rests to some degree on real events in his life.

5.5. The Possible Identity of John Cavendish Dudley. Having discovered, as I hope, the true identity of Louis de B—, it remains to ask just who his friend, John Cavendish Dudley, may have been. Here there is much less to go on. The one really striking datum that *Ghost Land* offers about him, apart from his interest in occultism and Spiritualism, is that sometime in the late 1840s or the 1850s he succeeded to an earldom quite against all likelihood. There is just one case of this sort that I have found so far among all the noble families known to have had a strong interest in Spiritualism. The nobleman in question originally was known as the Master of Lindsay, under which title in 1869 he gave evidence before the London Dialectical Society on the subject of Spiritualism.¹³⁴ In the 1830s his researches into his own family's history and genealogy revealed a strong claim to the vacant earldom of Crawford, and in 1848 the House of Lords upheld this claim, whereupon his father became the twenty-fourth Earl of Crawford. The Master of Lindsay, <32> Alexander William (1812-1880), now surnamed Crawford, succeeded to that earldom upon his father's death in 1864.¹³⁵

Like Ernest de Bunsen, Alexander William Crawford was a scholar who had a strong interest in the historical and critical study of the world's religions, but he was less inclined to publish his research on the subject. (However, one book of his along these lines was printed – not published! – by his widow more than a decade after his death in 150 copies, with a preface expressing her doubts about its contents.¹³⁶) Both he and his son, James Ludovic Lindsay, (1847-1913), were notable bibliophiles, who between them created a renowned library of great scholarly importance. Like John Cavendish Dudley in *Ghost Land*, both Crawfords were also greatly interested in astronomy; with his father's financial support, James Ludovic Lindsay made important astronomical observations and established his own observatory at Dunecht, Scotland, in 1872, and was elected President of the Royal Astronomical Society in 1878 and 1879.

¹³³ Cf. *A.M.* 9, 357-381. For EHB's own copy of this rare printed book, see Olcott (1895), 186.

¹³⁴ London Dialectical Society (1871), 206-209, 213-217, 360-363.

¹³⁵ For the circumstances of his life see especially *D.N.B.* XI, 1164-1165 (*s.v.* Lindsay, Alexander William Crawford), and Bemis (1997), where other literature by and about him is cited. For his son, James Ludovic Lindsay, see *D.N.B.* suppl. for 1912-1921, 337-338.

¹³⁶ Crawford (1891).

Alexander William Crawford died in Florence, Italy, in 1880; his body was returned to England and interred at Dunecht early in 1881. In December of that year his body was stolen from its tomb, held for ransom, and not finally recovered until July of 1882. In the meantime, as one biographer noted, “in March 1882 a party of spiritualists unsuccessfully attempted to solve the mystery.”¹³⁷ If it was really Alexander William Crawford who served as the model for John Cavendish Dudley in *Ghost Land*, then a complete account of that party of Spiritualists and their activities might shed further light on the matters under discussion here.

VI

The First Years of the Theosophical Society, 1875-1876

6.1. Emma Hardinge Britten and the Founding of the Theosophical Society. At the same time as she was editing *Art Magic* and *Ghost Land*, Emma Hardinge Britten was also one of the more active founding members of the organization that soon called itself the Theosophical Society. Indeed, the two meetings at which that society’s Preamble and Bylaws were adopted and its officers elected, on October 16 and 30, 1875, were held in Dr. William Britten’s reception rooms at the Brittens’ house on 38th Street, New York.¹³⁸ Its subsequent meetings, from November 17 onward, were held in rented rooms at Mott Memorial Hall. Meetings continued to be held there, <33> with ever diminishing attendance, for twelve months, but after November 15, 1876, the Theosophical Society ceased to meet on a regular basis.¹³⁹

Only in 1879 did a reorganized Theosophical Society once again begin to meet in India and elsewhere, but only about four of the founding members ever took much part in its activities. The large majority of them kept their distance from it, and a few of them, above all Emma Hardinge Britten, eventually became severe critics of its new undertakings.¹⁴⁰

Because of this great discontinuity in membership, I am inclined to speak of two successive Theosophical Societies (the one of 1875-1876; the other from 1878 on) as separate organizations, which I shall call the Earlier and the Later Theosophical Society. The insistent claim of the Later Theosophical Society (in all its variant forms) to be the legitimate heir of the Earlier one, and the true custodian of its heritage, may have some basis in law, but it can easily obscure any profound historical examination of the Earlier Theosophical Society on its own terms. In this section I shall be concerned solely with the Earlier Theosophical Society.

¹³⁷ *D.N.B.* XI, 1164.

¹³⁸ EHB “Theosophical Society” (1891a), pt. II, 359. Other published sources are a bit less precise about the rooms, but agree on the address.

¹³⁹ Blavatsky *CW* I, p. lx; but cf. pp. 245-246 for a meeting on March 30, 1877.

¹⁴⁰ *N.C.M.* 295-305, 436-443; EHB [under the pseudonym of Sirius], “Theosophy, Occultism, and Spiritualism” (1888a), “Rosicrucianism” (1888b), “Theosophy, Occultism, Annihilation, or Necromancy” (1888c), “Theosophy, Occultism, and Spiritualism” (1888d), “Spiritualism vs. Theosophy” (1888e); EHB [under her own name] “The Theosophical Society” (1891a); “Madame Blavatsky” (1891b).

The founding members of the Earlier Theosophical Society numbered about sixteen, depending on just how one defines a “founding member.”¹⁴¹ The four who also took an active part in the Later Theosophical Society were H. P. Blavatsky, H. S. Olcott, W. Q. Judge and C. C. Massey, the last of whom lived in England and had merely been visiting New York when the Earlier Theosophical Society was founded. Only two of the founding members were women, H. P. Blavatsky and Emma Hardinge Britten, yet they had not only some of the strongest personalities, but also some of the strongest credentials as occultists, in the fledgeling society – *equally strong* credentials, in my considered opinion. All memoirs of the society’s meetings indicate that the atmosphere was at times thick with tension between these two women, and that – at least on the surface – the main bones of contention between them were whether it is a good and useful thing for an occultist to be a medium, or a bad and harmful thing; and whether Spiritualism has any truths to offer humankind. Any dispute over the value of mediumship and Spiritualism, when one of the parties is a medium and a Spiritualist herself, can easily degenerate into a series of personal attacks and counter-attacks. This dispute seems to have done just that, albeit only subtly. The unedifying conflict between these two women, each of whom by herself might have come to dominate the affairs of the Earlier Theosophical Society, was undoubtedly one of the causes of its eventual collapse. Although Blavatsky clearly achieved a measure of ascendancy over two of the founding members, namely, Olcott and Judge, none of the scant evidence from any of the other founding members states or even implies that Blavatsky’s was the *sole* dominant voice in setting the agenda of the Early Theosophical Society, taken as a whole. In other words, although the Later Theosophical <34> Society was indeed very much Blavatsky’s and Olcott’s creation, and could not have come into existence without them, the Earlier Theosophical Society in New York might well have been created and survived for a year or two even if Blavatsky had never come to the United States. Unlike the Later Theosophical Society, the Earlier one was the *joint* creation, in varying but still significant ways, of *most or all* of its founding members.

6.2. Occult Training in the Earlier Theosophical Society. John Patrick Deveney has proved beyond all reasonable doubt that the Earlier Theosophical Society offered its members practical training in various occult practices, including what is now called astral projection, and has connected this fact with the pledge of secrecy for the society’s members that was instituted on January 19, 1876, followed a few months later by the adoption of such things as secret words and signs of recognition.¹⁴² It also appears that the Earlier Theosophical Society offered its members a system of degrees at about the same time; here is what W. J. Colville had to report (at second hand) in 1884:

Some years since, when a Theosophical Society was started in New York, it was declared that it was necessary to take nine degrees to qualify a member to enter into the full mysteries and powers of the order; that only three degrees could be taken in Europe or America, the remaining six could only be taken in the East. Since that time you have heard much of Koot Hoomi and the Himalayan Brothers, while “Isis Unveiled” and the “Theosophist,” also, “Ghost Land” and “Art Magic” have familiarized the reading public with some of the mysteries of Occult Science and Brotherhoods [This account is immediately followed by a description of the “most powerful and divine of all brotherhoods upon the earth, viz., the Order of Melchisedek,” which need not concern us just now.]¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Olcott (1895), 113-146; Ransom (1938), 76-94, 110-115; and Gomes (1987), 62-109. <60>

¹⁴² Deveney (1997b).

¹⁴³ Colville (1884), 62. Cf. Blavatsky *CW* I, 375-378, for nine degrees in late 1878. Cf. Olcott (1895), 126-131, quoting a letter by George F. Felt which states that a system of degrees was instituted at about the same time as the pledge of secrecy, that is, early in 1876. Deveney (1997b), 59, states that Felt’s letter was first published in the *Spiritualist* 13/4 (26 July 1878), 44-45, which publication I have not seen.

One of the two things that is most valuable in Colville's words is his clear indication that the time in question was 1875-1876 (i.e. "when ... started in New York") and also that it was before H. P. Blavatsky had begun to talk about Koot Hoomi and the other Himalayan adepts. The other is his statement that successive degrees conferred further "mysteries and powers." After Deveney's investigations, there should be little doubt that this system of degrees was connected with a specific program of step-by-step training in occult or magical practices. In offering such a program during 1875-1876, the society anticipated by a decade or more the comparable system of degrees in connection with a program of training that the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn would eventually establish.¹⁴⁴

If several degrees of occult training were indeed offered by the Earlier Theosophical Society, some of its members must have been the trainers, and these would also have been members of <35> higher degrees than the members in need of training. Who, then, were these members of high degree, and what was the program of occult training that they provided? Whenever this question has been raised in the past, it has been tacitly assumed that there could have been only one such member in the Early Theosophical Society, namely, H. P. Blavatsky herself, and also that the Society's program of training would necessarily have been under her sole direction. Undoubtedly she could have provided such training and direction, and that she actually provided it to H. S. Olcott and W. Q. Judge seems clear from the evidence as cited by Deveney.¹⁴⁵

But H. P. Blavatsky was not the only member of the Early Theosophical Society who needs to be considered as a possible occult trainer of high degree. Even from the little we know about them, it appears that George H. Felt, Dr. Seth Pancoast, Charles Sotheran and Albert Leighton Rawson were also qualified, each in his own way, to give instruction in one or another occult or esoteric practice. In addition to these four men, Emma Hardinge Britten also must be taken into consideration. Not only was she the sixth member to sign the Society's Pledge of Secrecy (after Felt, but before the other three members mentioned above), but she continued to attend the meetings of the Earlier Theosophical Society until April 19, 1876, when she and her husband moved from New York to Boston. She also continued to function as a member of its council as late as March 30, 1877.¹⁴⁶

6.3. *Emma Hardinge Britten and the School of the Prophets.* There should be no doubt that Emma Hardinge Britten had much to offer the Early Theosophical Society as an occult trainer. Spiritualism and mediumship, of course, remained bones of contention between her and H. P. Blavatsky, and she was indeed a medium as well as a Spiritualist. (For that matter, perhaps a quarter of the founding members were Spiritualists, and some of them were mediums as well.) Yet she was *much more* than a medium; in addition to the practical skills that she had acquired as a seer for the Orphic Brotherhood in the 1830s (which employed crystals and mirrors, music, and specially prepared fumigations as aids to clairvoyance), she had also received instruction in its doctrines and practices from Louis de B— as early as 1850.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, she was a trusted friend of Frederick Hockley, a "successful Adept of the present generation," expert in the arts of crystal-gazing and mirror-

¹⁴⁴ A comparable system of nine degrees, but apparently without any program of occult training, had already been instituted by the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia, founded in 1866; see Godwin (1994), 216-221.

¹⁴⁵ Deveney (1997b), esp. 17, 20-24, 34-36.

¹⁴⁶ Blavatsky *CW* I, 245-246. Gomes (1987), 91, publishes a facsimile of the Pledge of Secrecy. The signatures of Emma Hardinge Britten and William Britten were written by the same hand, which is not hers (her signatures may be seen on plates 1-3); therefore it is likely to be his.

¹⁴⁷ See section 2.1 above.

gazing, and may have served as one of his seers from time to time.¹⁴⁸ As Deveney notes, she was quite familiar with astral projection and its uses (for good and for evil alike), and may also have done it as a “flying soul” for the Orphic brotherhood in the 1830s.¹⁴⁹ Additionally, she claimed the ability to transmit messages over great distances by what she refers to as a spiritual or mental telegraph (we might now call it telepathy), and that she regularly communicated with her old friend, Mrs. (or Dr.) Elizabeth J. French, and others in this way during her extensive travels throughout the United States **<36>** during the years 1857-1865; elsewhere Louis de B— mentions that he and she communicated with one another in the same fashion.¹⁵⁰

But even more to the point, we have some slight indications, entirely apart from the history of the Earlier Theosophical Society, that Emma Hardinge Britten wanted to establish such a program of training as that society offered. Upon her death in 1900, and at her wish, a trust fund was created to establish “a school of prophets” at Manchester, which came to be known as the Britten Memorial Institute and Library. The trustees seem to have taken her strange phrase, “a school for prophets,” as referring to a school for the training of Spiritualist mediums.¹⁵¹ However, the phrase undoubtedly meant something else to her, for she took it from the following remarkable long passage in Louis de B—’s *Art Magic*, which was edited by her and published by her husband in 1875-1876, precisely the years of her greatest involvement with the Earlier Theosophical Society:

It is as a corrective to the errors [*sc.* mentioned above] . . . that we recommend . . . :
 “That we should recognize it as our incumbent duty, even an urgent necessity, to preserve to ourselves and posterity the high privileges of this beneficent and instructive intercourse [*sc.* with Spirits], by studying its laws, and endeavoring scientifically to master its methods, so as to control the communion, and be enabled to conduct it at pleasure.

On this point let it be remembered that all the magical arts and possibilities detailed in previous sections, are as open to mankind to-day as ever they were. Whether it be *expedient* to seek them or no, is not the question. We simply reiterate that they are attainable, and with the lights of science we now enjoy, especially in our improved knowledge of magnetic, psychological and physiologic laws, they can be arrived at with far less severe probationary efforts, and with far milder methods of culture than those formerly exercised.

Superficial commentators on this subject, talk of the “lost art of magic,” and describe as impossible achievements for modern Europeans or Americans, the marvels enacted by Hindou Fakeers, Egyptian Dervishes, and Arabian Santons, medieval Ecstatics, Witches and Wizards; . . .

[Here follow four and one half paragraphs of data in support of this last proposition.]

The failures of modern Spiritism [*sic*], its degradation, lack of organic power, evil repute, and gradual but sure decadence, all proceed from the human side of the movement. It may be difficult, perhaps impossible, to repair the errors committed by a fast fading generation, but it is for us to lay the foundation of improved conditions, by dealing with the rising generation, and for this purpose, the wisest course we can now pursue to show our devotion to the interests of truth, and our duty to posterity, would be to found a NEW “SCHOOL OF THE PROPHETS.”

¹⁴⁸ See section 5.2 above.

¹⁴⁹ Deveney (1997b), 5-11.

¹⁵⁰ *Autob.* 109-110 (with Mrs. French); *M.A.S.* 150 (with “two or three of the prominent New York mediums”); “Spiritual Gifts” pt. VIII (with “Mr. B.,” who is surely LdB); *Gh.L.* 362 (LdB with EHB).

¹⁵¹ Fodor (1933), 39.

In these [*sic*], young fresh susceptible organisms should be selected as Neophytes to fill a future order of Mediums, Priests, and Ministers. Their food should be plain and simple, their habits pure and orderly, their lives spotless, their morals regulated by the most exalted and dignified standards of truth, justice, piety, and goodness. They should be under the regulation of a <37> company of holy women, and scientific men. Good, pure-minded, healthful magnetizers should be received into fellowship with them, and one and all should be magnetized to determine who were operators, and who subjects. The first should be set apart as Physicians to the sick, and operators for mediumistic and clairvoyant development. The second as Media, Prophets, and Ministers.

As soon as the aforesaid powers were discovered, they should be classified and the magnetizations continued until the subjects felt impressed to discontinue them and stand alone. Periodical *séances* should be established, at which scientific order should strictly prevail. The floors of the circle room should be intersected with plateaus of glass, to prevent the escape of the magnetic fluid. The air should often be purified with streams of ozone; the walls surrounded with graceful forms of art and well selected colors. Those destined to become Magnetizers or Physicians should sit in rooms well supplied with powerful magnets. Tender susceptible media should never commence their sittings without first holding the poles of a good electro-magnetic battery in their hands, closing their exercises in the same way. No drugs, narcotics, or stimulants should be used under any circumstances, but all other legitimate appeals to the senses should be put into requisition, the most potential of which should be healthful exercises, bathing, the performance of exquisite music, and the sight of beautiful forms of art.

Those sensitives manifesting tendencies towards clairvoyance should practice gazing steadily into the crystal or mirror. Those susceptible of psychometrical delineations, should *practice* their power, remembering that this, and *all other Spiritual gifts*, are as much the result of culture and exercise, as are the developments of muscular strength, or intellectual achievement. No *séances* should ever be attempted without a solemn preparatory invocation to good and wise Spirits, and to any Tutelary, Angelic Guardian, or Deific power, in which the Invocant places faith, and this not only for the purpose of stimulating the mind to aspiration and soliciting the presence and influence of the good and wise, but also for the purpose of banishing evil and mischievous spirits from interfering. The same ceremonial of discharge or dismissal should be used on breaking up a *séance*, in fact we would recommend at least as much courtesy in the treatment of Angelic essences, as the usages of society demand for ordinary acquaintances.

A “School of the Prophets” conducted on some such principles as we have thus briefly outlined, would certainly do as much for this generation as the mysteries and Temple services of antiquity effected for the nations in which they were practiced – in a word – it would provide a class of duly qualified Magnetic Physicians, Prophets, Mediums, Clear Seers, and Spiritualistic persons, whose morals, characters, and gifts being cultured and superinduced into religious and scientific methods, would fill the world with blessing and usefulness instead of as now, desecrating high and holy gifts to base and sordid purposes, or disgracing them with characteristics which we do not care to dwell upon in this volume.¹⁵²

It is this sort of school, and not merely one that would train Spiritualist mediums, that Emma Hardinge Britten had in view, I suspect, when she made the final arrangements to establish her “school of prophets” at Manchester. The curriculum of such a school would clearly have covered <38> more than mediumship, as it was usually understood. It would have included such magical and occult practices as had engaged the Orphic Circle’s interest so many decades earlier. A page or two beyond the long passage quoted just above, but still on the same subject, Louis de B— remarks:

¹⁵² *A.M.* 453-457.

Magnetism is the pabulum by which spirits communicate, Psychology the influence. These are the secret virtues of Magic, Witchcraft and Mediumship in every age, and human nature changes not. If the founders . . . will carefully study out the rules briefly suggested as indications in forming a school for the education and training of Media, they will surely become, in part at least, successful enough to reward them for some time consumed, and some sacrifices consummated.¹⁵³

6.4. Emma Hardinge Britten's Hopes for the Earlier Theosophical Society. In 1883 Emma Hardinge Britten noted with some asperity that she was one of the first members of the Theosophical Society, which held its first official meetings in her house in New York, and that “as long as the Society existed in that city *on its original lines*” – the italics are hers – she remained a member of its first Council (which had been elected on October 30, 1875).¹⁵⁴ What originally drew her to the Theosophical Society, I am very sure, was the wish of her old and trusted friend, Louis de B—, that an occult “School of the Prophets” might be founded. She made this wish her own, published articles in defense of occultism in the 1880s and 1890s in order to prepare the broad mass of Spiritualists for its establishment, and finally, at the end of her life, she provided for a trust-fund to create it. Most likely it was with this very specific purpose in mind that she reintroduced herself to H. S. Olcott after an interval of twenty years and cultivated the acquaintance of H. P. Blavatsky despite the latter’s decided antagonism to Spiritualism. It was not inconsistent with this purpose that the original *Preamble and By-Laws of the Theosophical Society* stated in 1875:

The title of the Theosophical Society explains the objects and desires of its founders [*sc.* founding members]: they seek “to obtain knowledge of the nature and attributes of the Supreme Power and of the higher spirits *by the aid of physical processes*.” In other words, they hope, that by going deeper than modern science has hitherto done, into the esoteric philosophies of ancient times, they may be enabled to obtain, for themselves and other investigators, proof of the existence of an “Unseen Universe,” the nature of its inhabitants, if such there be, and the laws which govern them and their relations with mankind.

Whatever may be the private opinions of its members, the society has no dogmas to enforce, no creed to disseminate. It is formed neither as a Spiritualistic schism, nor to serve as the foe or friend of any sectarian or philosophic body. Its only axiom is the omnipotence of truth, its only creed a profession of unqualified devotion to its discovery and propagation.¹⁵⁵

These words define the “original lines” on which the Theosophical Society was formed in 1875. They were written *before* H. P. Blavatsky had finished *Isis Unveiled*, and *long before* H. S. <39> Olcott found it useful for his own purposes to draw a sharp line between the two “founders” of the Society (that is, himself and Blavatsky) and its “formers” or other founding members.¹⁵⁶ However, they were written *at the same time as* Emma Hardinge Britten was preparing *Art Magic* for publication. One might read these words, then, as an expression of her purpose as easily as an expression of Blavatsky’s, or one might interpret them in terms of *Art Magic* as easily as *Isis Unveiled*. The quoted sentences have been very carefully written, it seems to me, in order to accommodate each of these two different points of view. For example, the statement that the Theosophical Society was not “formed [...] as a Spiritualistic

¹⁵³ *A.M.* 460.

¹⁵⁴ *N.C.M.* 302.

¹⁵⁵ Theosophical Society (1875), 5; also quoted by EHB in her “The Late Baron de Palm” (1876b), 8, which was later reprinted in *N.C.M.* 441; also independently quoted by Ransom (1938), 81.

¹⁵⁶ Olcott (1895), 122; cf. Ransom (1938), 78-79. <61>

schism” might mean *either* that the society should have nothing to do with Spiritualism (H. P. Blavatsky’s view) *or* that it should reform Spiritualism without causing any schism among Spiritualists (Emma Hardinge Britten’s view); the words lend themselves *equally* to either interpretation.

These paragraphs of the *Preamble and By-Laws*, read in this light, may explain why Emma Hardinge Britten devoted so much of her time and energy to the Society during 1875 and 1876, despite the other concerns and activities that weighed heavily on her in those years. They also explain just what she had in mind when she referred to the Society’s departure from its “original lines,” just why she resigned from its council once it had departed from them, and even why her pen often seems to take on extra sharpness when she writes of the Later Theosophical Society and H. P. Blavatsky. Her sharpness came from frustrated hopes.

However, in 1875-1876 all of that lay unsuspected in the future. Given Emma Hardinge Britten’s background, given her skill in a number of occult practices, given her long association with Louis de B— and other European occultists, and especially given the long passage from *Art Magic* quoted above, is it not certain that she would have been regarded by many other members of the Earlier Theosophical Society as a distinguished occultist of high degree – despite the tension between her and Blavatsky! – who had much to offer the new organization? Is it not likely, therefore, that she would have played a considerable role in devising and implementing any program of occult training that the Earlier Theosophical Society might have chosen to adopt?

The details of that program have been lost: we do not know what subjects it included, in what order these subjects were to be covered, or how these subjects were divided among the three degrees that could be taken in New York, without going to the East. Indeed, the program may never have been worked out in full during the twelve months or so that the Earlier Theosophical Society functioned in New York before its collapse. If we did have all the details of that program, it would probably be obvious just how it was the joint work of several members of high degree, and just which of these members offered training in one or another occult skill, or had primary <40> responsibility for the training of this or that member of lower degree. If we knew all these things, I do not doubt that we should find Emma Hardinge Britten taking an active part as one of the Society’s occult trainers.

6.5. One Last Puzzle. After the Earlier Theosophical Society ceased to meet in November, 1876, H. P. Blavatsky and H. S. Olcott decided to leave the United States and start over again. They left New York harbor on December 17-19, 1877, and traveled eastward across the Atlantic, first to England, but then to India.¹⁵⁷ It is a striking fact that Emma Hardinge Britten and her husband, William Britten, left New York, and then the United States, at about the same time, although they traveled in the opposite direction. Sometime in 1877, only a few months after the Earlier Theosophical Society ceased to meet, the Brittens began their most extensive lecture tour ever, first going overland to California, where they remained for several months. On January 21, 1878, the Brittens left San Francisco harbor and sailed westward across the Pacific, stopping at Hawaii, Australia and New Zealand.¹⁵⁸ Neither the Brittens nor Blavatsky and Olcott ever spent much time in the United States again. Blavatsky remained in India until 1885; in that year she moved to Europe and then to England, where she died in 1891. The Brittens returned to San Francisco on December 31, 1879; having spent several months on the west coast, they slowly traveled overland to New York. Early in 1881 they left the United States for

¹⁵⁷ Blavatsky *CW* I, p. lxvi; II, p. xxv-xxvi.

¹⁵⁸ *Autob.* 225-251.

England, where they remained until his death in 1894 and hers in 1899.¹⁵⁹ Such a symmetry suggests that we may not yet have fully understood the motives for each departure, which may be more complex than either woman ever admitted in print. It may, of course, simply come down to this: in their conflict the two strong-willed, visionary occultists mutually shattered one another's hopes for the Earlier Theosophical Society at the same time, and hastily abandoned the scene of their mutual defeat. Or there may be other reasons, as yet wholly unsuspected, why all parties left New York, and the United States, so rapidly.

Indeed, this may be the best note on which to end our account of these two women, each with so many secrets in her past, each so skilled in so many mysterious arts.

VII Retrospect and Prospects

7.1. *Emma Hardinge Britten's Theory of Herself.* At the beginning of her *Autobiography*, Emma Hardinge Britten wrote: <41>

Cornelius Agrippa and other Mediæval Mystics have affirmed, that a Magician to attain successful achievement "must be born a Magician."

Reviewing my own youthful experiences, I am perfectly convinced that this remark applies as surely to "Spirit Mediums" as to Magicians – indeed to my apprehension the two terms are synonymous.

The Spiritual gifts that are normal to mediumistic individuals from birth may change and alter during earth life, but never wholly depart, and as this was happily my own case, and I was "born a witch," as some of my public opponents have politely informed the world, I have experienced many changes, though no actual loss of mediumistic unfoldment, throughout a long and busy career.¹⁶⁰

In the immediately following pages, as in other of her autobiographical writings, Emma dwelt fondly upon the memory of her weird childhood and youth as a naïve mystic and a "ghost seeress" and upon her work as a teen-aged clairvoyant for the "Orphic Circle," both of which she considered to have prepared her for her Spiritualist mediumship.

Here and elsewhere, Emma Hardinge Britten claimed that both the magician and the medium perform their wonders by virtue of the same occult forces of nature, with the sole difference that the magician controls these forces, whereas the medium is controlled by them. The very same occult forces, too, are used – or rather, misused – to harm people by those who are commonly called witches and "vaoodooists."¹⁶¹ Were it not for its negative connotation, the term "witch" might be used as a synonym for "magician," especially with reference to women; indeed, Emma insists that very many of the women executed as witches

¹⁵⁹ *Autob.* 252-262.

¹⁶⁰ *Autob.* 2.

¹⁶¹ EHB, *Ancient Magic and Modern Spiritualism* (1865, reprinted 1924); "Ancient Magic, Witchcraft, and Modern Spiritualism" (1871); "Spiritual Gifts" (1875-76); *Autob.* 2-4, 160, 168-173; EHB [under the pseudonym "One Who Knows"] "Occultism Defined" (1887); EHB [under the pseudonym of Sirius], "Theosophy, Occultism, and Spiritualism" (1888a), "Rosicrucianism" (1888b), "Theosophy, Occultism, Annihilation, or Necromancy" (1888c), "Theosophy, Occultism, and Spiritualism" (1888d), "Spiritualism vs. Theosophy" (1888e).

in bygone centuries were actually harmless mediums, innocent victims of popular ignorance or priestly jealousy:

those who were accused of witchcraft possessed the gifts which in ancient times were called witchcraft, and now called Spiritualism.¹⁶²

On occasion, Emma herself was called a “witch” by some opponent; while disavowing the reproach, she clearly relished her opponent’s recognition of her power.¹⁶³

Moreover, these same occult forces were the source of whatever real spiritual power may have been possessed by those who, like Moses, had been able to work miracles in their capacity as priests of one religion or another. Speaking of ancient Israel, Emma wrote:

We find that when we come to trace the origin of the priesthood, it was derived from the priesthood of Moses, who founded the order of priests and derived his information from the Egyptians. When we compare the system taught by Moses with the ancient Magic of the <42> Egyptians, we find they correspond closely. . . .

Then, there was White Witchcraft, which was practiced by the priests. Black Witchcraft, again, was practiced by the unlicensed – by those who were not in the order of the priesthood; in fact, it was a sort of private priesthood, which received inspiration or gifts, just as we do to-day, without any authority. It opposed itself to the regular stereotyped mode of the Jewish priesthood, causing jealousy and leading to persecution. When Moses contended with the Egyptians they are called Magicians, but he is called the Priest of the Lord. The phenomena which were produced by both were therefore the same, and up to a certain point they prevailed with Moses.

When practiced by the people it was Witchcraft; but when by the priests, it was Religion. . . . The prophets of Israel had the hand of the Lord upon them. Sometimes they were made to instruct the people through visions. They were sometimes made to predict the fate of Israel – Isaiah, for instance, and many other of the prophets. What power was this? Oh! not witchcraft. These were the authorized religious men of the day; but when we come to the unauthorized woman – when we are pointed to the Woman of Endor, who predicted the truth also – who represented the destiny of Saul, even as Samuel did when he himself was on earth – we are pointed to a witch. . . . We do not hear that this woman practiced any arts. We do not hear of any enchantments, any divination, any sacrificial rites, any blessing upon the altar-pieces, as Abraham did, and waiting for fire to consume them. We hear of nothing but the fact that the spirit of Samuel was called in the presence of Saul, who believed he appeared, though the woman alone perceived it. Did not the prophecy then given come to pass? And now, as we search those passages of Scripture, this is all the description of the “witch” we can find; were it not for the denunciations from the pulpit, we should hardly call the woman a witch. Taking, therefore, the high authority of our clerical teachers, it is clear we have arrived at that time when we stand face to face with the modern “witch” in the form of Spiritualism.¹⁶⁴

Exactly the same points were repeatedly made in Louis de B—’s works, *Art Magic* and *Ghost Land*. Indeed, the same reference to Agrippa’s teaching appears in several places in these two books.¹⁶⁵ In *Art Magic* the author writes:

¹⁶² “Ancient Magic, Witchcraft, and Modern Spiritualism” (1871), 268.

¹⁶³ *Autob.* 77-78, 84-85.

¹⁶⁴ “Ancient Magic, Witchcraft, and Modern Spiritualism” (1871), 267.

¹⁶⁵ In addition to the two passages in *A.M.* quoted below, see *Gh.L.* 93-95.

Let the facts be plainly stated. In all the writings of true and highly endowed Mystics, whether ancient or modern, it is distinctly stated in the language of Cornelius Agrippa that “a magician must be born so from his mother’s womb,” and that unless he is so gifted by nature, the processes by which real physiological changes are to be wrought in his system are slow, painful, and difficult of performance.

We have written to little purpose if we have failed to impress upon our readers that the source of all spiritual powers and functions resides in that mysterious combination of imponderable elements which we have termed the Astral spirit or spiritual body of man; that it is to the original and constitutional structure of that Astral spirit, that prophetic and mediumistic endowments are due, and that when these exist inherently in the organism, man is a prophet, <43> a medium, and can readily exalt his powers into those of a magician. The reader may inquire wherein consists the difference between a medium and a magician? We answer, chiefly in degree. The medium is one through whose Astral spirit, other spirits can manifest, making their presence known by various kinds of phenomena. Whatever these consist in, the medium is only a passive agent in their hands. He can neither command their presence, nor will their absence; – can never compel the performance of any special act, nor direct its nature. The magician, on the contrary, can summon and dismiss spirits at will; can perform many feats of occult power through his own spirit; can compel the presence and assistance of spirits of lower grades of being than himself, and effect transformations in the realm of nature upon animate and inanimate bodies. He can control his fellow men physically and mentally by will, irrespective of distance, and even cause changes in the destinies of individuals and societies.¹⁶⁶

Later in the same book he writes:

Agrippa [. . .] repeatedly affirms that “a man must be born a magician from his mother’s womb.” This passage, with others of a kindred character, plainly imply the great Magician’s belief, that what we have so often termed *naturally prophetic, or Mediumistic endowments*, are far more available to procure communion with, and control of spirits, than any arts which he can recommend. Again and again, too, Agrippa enlarges on the potency of the will to produce magical results. His opinion of this great instrument of power is conveyed in the following quaint passage.

“Notwithstanding the use of all these signs, and whether or no the Magician shall make every pentacle duly, and write every name in order, even if he do speak all which is here set down in every circumstance; yet, when no spirit cometh, it is the mind of the invocant which doth fail him, for all these things are but as winds, which do blow on the temper of the mind, to stir it up to action.” “Unless a man be born a Magician, and God have destined him even from his birth to the work, so that spirits do willingly come of their own accord – which doth happen to few – a man must use only of the things herein set down, or written in our other books of occult philosophy, as means to fix the mind upon the work to be done; for it is in the power of the mind itself that spirits do come and go, and magical works are done, and all things in nature are but as uses to induce the will to rest upon the point desired.”¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ *A.M.* 159-160.

¹⁶⁷ *A.M.* 382. I have been unable to find these two long quotations, attributed here to Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, in any of that scholar’s authentic works; no doubt they come from one or another of the compendious magical treatises in manuscript that falsely bear his name, possibly together with that of Albertus Magnus (see below). Could this pseudepigraphic text be identified, any reference to it or quotation from it by one or another spiritualist or occultist of the nineteenth century might serve as a mark of that person’s membership in the Orphic Circle. I have already found one such quotation, in a letter written by Edward Bulwer-Lytton in 1869 for the London Dialectical Society’s investigation of Spiritualism; as we saw in chapter 5 above, Emma claimed him as a deceased member of the Orphic Circle. Lord Lytton wrote that the phenomena of Spiritualism, which are also those of witchcraft, “require certain physical organisations or temperaments to produce them, and vary according to those organisations or temperaments. Hence, Albertus

It is clear from all her autobiographical writings that Emma Hardinge Britten saw herself, above all else, as a woman outside of the common run of humanity, possessed of powers that relatively few others could wield, and that she accounted for this difference by the theory that she (like those few others) happened to possess a peculiar physiological constitution. All else was a matter of the instruction and the training which she had been fortunate to receive from certain adepts and early mediums of great power, especially Louis de B— and Mrs. E. J. French. This instruction and training exceeded that which most other Spiritualist mediums were able to obtain, and placed her on a par with such remarkable individuals as Paschal Beverly Randolph (whom she hardly ever mentions by name, though their paths seem often to have crossed) and H. P. Blavatsky. <44>

Whoever would understand Emma Hardinge Britten's life and work must start from this theory of her powers – or, if one prefers, from this myth which she constructed about herself. On no other basis can one make much sense of her long years of hard work and travel as a religious, magical, occult, social and political reformer, nor of the influence which she had on so many people, directly or indirectly, both during her lifetime and for decades after her death. Indeed, her indirect influence has still not wholly played itself out, though a century has now elapsed since her death – or rather, since her transition (as she would have preferred me to write).

7.2. *Emma Hardinge Britten's Spheres of Influence.* Whatever one may make of her life and work, Emma Hardinge Britten was a woman with surprisingly many spheres of influence in the United States and in England.

As an extremely prominent early Spiritualist, she was directly acquainted to a greater or lesser degree with almost every nineteenth-century Spiritualist of any importance in the English-speaking world – including, of course, many Spiritualists whose names have not been mentioned in the present work.

Her friendship with Louis de B— (Ernest de Bunsen, as I suppose him to have been) and with Frederick Hockley must have fostered her wide acquaintance with the occultists who were active in England during the second half of the nineteenth century, though we cannot say precisely whose acquaintance she made, or precisely when and where she did so. It is clear, however, that she began to move in these circles about 1850, and reentered them after her return to England in 1865.

As a prominent member of the Earlier Theosophical Society during the years 1875-1876, not only did she become directly acquainted with the other early members of that society, but also she strengthened her position within the community of occultists and esotericists in New York and other cities on the Atlantic coast. Indeed, there are a few small hints that she began to move in these circles many years before the founding of the Theosophical Society in 1875; among other things, in her *Autobiography* she briefly mentions that during the early 1860s she and her mother lived for a time on an estate called “Rose Cross” in Delanco, New Jersey – most likely the property of a Rosicrucian.¹⁶⁸

In addition to Spiritualism and Theosophy (or, more broadly, Occultism), there was a third major alternative spiritual movement that developed in the United States during the last half of the nineteenth century: the Metaphysical Movement, which eventually split into

Magnus says, that a man must be born a magician, *i.e.*, born with certain physical idiosyncrasies, which no study can acquire” [London Dialectical Society (1871), 240]. The entire letter (240-242) discusses these phenomena in terms that reminds one strongly of the similar discussions published in *Ghost Land* a few years later. <62>

¹⁶⁸ *Autob.* 176. See also Deveney (1997a), 44-47, for discussion of another such hint.

Christian Science and New Thought. The driving force behind this movement was provided by Mary Baker (Glover Patterson) Eddy. One of the unsolved puzzles in Emma Hardinge Britten's life is whether she and Eddy may have been acquainted with one another. Neither woman so much as mentions the other in passing in any published work, yet their paths might have crossed in Boston or in Lynn during the years 1872-1875. The first edition of Eddy's most important work, *Science and Health* (1875), offers a very well informed challenge to the orthodox Spiritualist doctrine on the phenomena of the séance (namely, that they are produced entirely and only by the spirits of dead people).¹⁶⁹ It remains an open question whether Mary Baker Eddy's metaphysical and moral critique of Spiritualism owes anything at all to Emma Hardinge Britten's magical and occult critique of Spiritualist orthodoxy, or perhaps vice versa. If so, it is not obvious. In any case, an indirect link between the two women was provided by Rev. J. H. Wiggin, who was a member of the Earlier Theosophical Society in 1875-1876, and who later served as Mrs. Eddy's literary advisor (especially during the years 1886-1890).¹⁷⁰

Because Emma Hardinge Britten had positioned herself so well in all these ways, her network of direct and indirect acquaintances included a significant number of woman esotericists, occultists, magicians and religious or spiritual leaders in each of the above-mentioned three spheres of influence. A significant number of these women sooner or later came to play a noticeable role in the history of the English-speaking world, but I must save their stories for another book. Because of her strong personality, because of the power of her ideas, and especially because of her theory (or myth) of herself and her special mission, Emma Hardinge Britten was able strongly to impress these women with the worth and the urgency of her proposed set of linked reforms. Though her name and her books have now mostly been forgotten, the lines of her direct and indirect influence can be traced in the lives and works of these women.

These lines of direct and indirect influence, as I mentioned in chapter 1, pass through the magical "wing" of Spiritualism, through Theosophy and similar movements, through late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century esoteric or occult orders such as the Golden Dawn, and through the magical "wing" of New Thought.¹⁷¹ Spanning several generations, they reach as far as the present day, and have left their traces in the wide spectrum of those new religious movements that esteem the practice of magic. The most notable and significant of these movements are the closely related ones that apply such labels as Neo-Paganism and Witchcraft to themselves. It is significant that one of the foremost spokeswomen for Witchcraft as a new religious movement, Doreen Valiente, quotes Chevalier Louis de B—'s *Art Magic* with approval in her first major work, *An ABC of Witchcraft Past and Present*; it is, she says, a "very rare and remarkable old book."¹⁷² <46>

7.3. *What Remains to be Done?* My readers must not put down this book with the feeling that I have solved all of the puzzles in Emma Hardinge Britten's life. Far from it! I have reconfigured the data found in her well known publications, called attention to the further data in a number of her less well known publications, uncovered a few unknown or overlooked sources for her life, argued for a connection between her and the long-forgotten

¹⁶⁹ Eddy (1875), 64-146; cf. Gill (1998), 217-230.

¹⁷⁰ Ransom (1938), 79, 82, 86, 115; Orcutt (1950), 28-36; Gill (1998), 319-320, 332-338, 368-369, 449.

¹⁷¹ See Davis (1885), 129-134 [reprinting a speech made in 1878], for two "wings" of Spiritualism, the Rationalistic and the Christian, and a very harsh criticism of "Magical Spiritualism," as exemplified by H. P. Blavatsky, Paschal Beverly Randolph, H. S. Olcott, and Emma Hardinge Britten.

¹⁷² Valiente (1988), 115-117.

Dr. E. Hardinge, conjecturally identified the two men behind the pseudonyms Chevalier Louis de B— and John Cavendish Dudley, and as I hope, shed some new light on the original purpose and the activities of the Theosophical Society during the years 1875-1876. However, each of these results is only the first step down a long path leading to the truth. I hope that my readers will explore each of these paths further than I have been able to do so far. Here are *some* of the things that still need to be done:

- *The Musical World* and *The Court Gazette* should be searched for her contributions to those periodicals.
- The relevant musical and theatrical periodicals should be searched for information about her musical and theatrical careers, at the Haymarket and Adelphi theaters and elsewhere.
- *All* nineteenth-century Spiritualist periodicals should be searched for her contributions, and for information about her career as a Spiritualist; and a full bibliography should be prepared of her own published writings and of published primary sources for her life and works.
- Official records in the United Kingdom and the United States should be searched for documentation of her presumed marriage to Dr. E. Hardinge (and of the possible birth of a child to him), her known marriage to William Britten, her birth and death, his birth and death, and the births, marriages and deaths of her father, her mother, her siblings, and their spouses and possible children; and her family tree should be reconstructed for several generations.
- The life of Dr. E. Hardinge should be examined, his other minor publications that are mentioned in his *Course of Lectures* (1854) should be identified and examined (if copies of them survive), and his precise connection, if any, with the aristocratic Hardinge family should be established.
- The identity of the Baptist minister named William Williams, the grandfather of Dr. E. Hardinge's presumed wife (and principal medium), should be established precisely, since there were several Baptist ministers of that name active in the west of England or in Wales during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.
- The surviving family papers of Ernest de Bunsen and of Alexander William Crawford should be examined for evidence that would either confirm or refute the identification of them with Louis de B— and with John Cavendish Dudley, respectively; and the copies of her publications that they once owned should be examined for any inscriptions that she may have written in them. Particular note should be taken of the unpublished memoir of Ernest de Bunsen's life, written by his daughter, Hilda Deichmann.¹⁷³ <47>
- Her own papers should be examined, insofar as they survive, for evidence of friendship between her and these two aristocrats, and for other evidence that might bear on the identity of Louis de B— and John Cavendish Dudley, and for evidence of her views on the original purpose and work of the Theosophical Society during the first two years of its existence in New York.
- Her own library of printed books, insofar as it survives, should be checked for copies of works by Ernest de Bunsen and Alexander William Crawford, and these copies should be examined for any inscriptions that their authors may have written in them.
- Land and town records for Delanco, New Jersey, should be examined to identify the estate named "Rose Cross" and its owner, and his life should be examined in greater detail.
- The original Minute Book and other surviving records of the (Earlier) Theosophical Society for the years 1875-1877 should be examined in detail for evidence bearing on the roles that the Brittens played in its activities, and also for evidence confirming or refuting my conjectures (and those of John Patrick Deveney) about the original purpose and program of that society.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ *D.N.B.* suppl. for 1901-1911, 256.

¹⁷⁴ After completing the manuscript of this work, I was able to examine a xerocopy of the original Minute Book of the Theosophical Society (see footnote 1). There it is recorded on p. 30 that Emma Hardinge Britten

Many of these tasks will be much easier for researchers in the United Kingdom to do than for those in the United States, though in a few cases, the reverse will be true. Much of this work will be long and hard. Yet I am confident that the rewards will repay the labor spent, and I dare to hope that this book of mine will move some of its readers to undertake one or another of these tasks. I look forward with great eagerness to seeing the results of their work, whether to confirm or to refute the several conjectures I have made and the interpretations that I have offered about the life and works of Emma Hardinge Britten. I also trust that she herself would, upon reflection, ultimately have approved of the impulse that has led me to investigate certain matters that she once wished to conceal. This impulse is nothing other than her own chosen motto, which is also mine:¹⁷⁵

THE TRUTH AGAINST THE WORLD!

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presented a copy of *Art Magic* to the society at its meeting on April 5, 1876, the next-to-last meeting of the society that she was able to attend before her move to Boston. In response to the society's vote of thanks for the gift, she then spoke at length about the proper objects and aims of the society, as she saw them, and outlined a plan for the study of the occult nature of man. In her view, the Theosophical Society should begin its work by investigating animal magnetism in small circles formed of its members and by determining which members of the society did or did not possess the power of magnetizing another. All this is very much along the lines proposed in *Art Magic* for a School of the Prophets. This minute may confirm my suggestion that Emma Hardinge Britten did indeed have her own specific ideas about the objects and aims of the society, and about a specific occult training program that would be conducted along the lines detailed in *Art Magic*.

¹⁷⁵ *M.A.S.* 15, 19, 438; *Gb.L.* 14; *Autob.* 95. <63>

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Appendix A

A Chronology of Emma Hardinge Britten's Life (1823-1899)

1823-1855: Early Life in England

- 1823 May 2, Emma Floyd (henceforth EF) was born at Bethnal Green, near Stepney (in the London area) to Ebenezer and Anne Sophia (Williams?) Floyd, the latter then about 31 years old.
- 1834-35 When EF was 11 years old her father died, leaving a wife and four children. EF began to support her family by her music.
- 1835-36 When EF was 12 years old, she began to appear in public on the stage as a musician.
- 1835-36 Before EF was 13 years old (i.e. before May 2, 1836) she began several years of service as a clairvoyant for the Orphic Circle. (Chevalier Louis de B— may have made his first visits to the Orphic Circle during these years, but his friendship with EF began later, in 1850.)
- 1840? Several years later EF went to Paris for musical training, but lost her singing voice there, and turned to acting. Her mother accompanied her to Paris.
- 1842-43 By this year (at the latest) EF had probably begun her career as an actress with the Haymarket and the Adelphi companies.
- 1846 EF's brother Tom died overseas when he was 16 years old.
- 1850 EF renewed her acquaintance with Louis de B—.
- 1850 Around this year EF entered Dr. E. Hardinge's household, perhaps as his wife, while he was still practicing medicine. At this time she became Emma Hardinge (henceforth EH).
- 1850-51 EH first appeared on stage under the name of Mrs. Hardinge, at the Adelphi Theatre.
- 1853 Beginning in February, EH developed as Dr. Hardinge's medium, and he abandoned his medical practice for spiritual manifestations.
- 1854 In February Dr. E. Hardinge began his course of six lectures upon spiritual manifestations at the Literary and Scientific Institution, Portman Square, based on EH's communications as a medium.
During these years in England, EH also wrote for various periodicals and composed music under the pseudonym Ernest Reinhold.
- 1854 EH resumed her career as an actress, but in Paris, acting at the Imperial Theatre well into 1855. <72>
- 1855 Shortly after completing her engagement in Paris, EH signed a contract to act at the Broadway Theater in New York for nine months (September 1855 – May 1856).

1855-1857: Two Years in New York

- 1855 On August 22 EH arrived in New York on the ship *Pacific*, to work as an actress at the Broadway Theater for nine months (September 1855 – May 1856).
- 1856 On February 19 EH was developed as a medium by Mrs. Kellogg.
- 1856 Toward the end of her theater contract (i.e. in the spring), EH decided not to return to England or to Dr. Hardinge.
- 1856-57 June 1856 – May 1857, EH held public séances and gave music lessons in the rooms of the Society for the Diffusion of Spiritual Knowledge; she also edited the Society's periodical, *The Christian Spiritualist*, during those months.
- 1857-58 Louis de B— traveled to the United States, visiting EH while she was editing *The Christian Spiritualist*.

1857-1865: Eight Years as a Public Speaker in the United States

- 1857 On July 5 EH gave her first public trance-lecture at Troy, New York.
- 1858 In September EH began to give trance-lectures on the origin of all religious faiths.
- 1859 In February EH's first publications – two of her trance-lectures – were printed in Boston (see Appendix B).
- 1860 By this year EH had visited most of the United States, including the South, as a trance-lecturer.
- 1860 EH delivered six trance-lectures at Chicago (October – November), which were transcribed and published as *Six Lectures on Theology and Nature*.
- 1861 EH published *The Wildfire Club*, a collection of 13 stories, many of which had been published earlier in various Spiritualist periodicals.
- 1863-64 In October EH embarked for California, and remained in the West for 15 months. One of her trance-lectures was published in San Francisco (see Appendix B).

1865-1870: Back and Forth across the Atlantic

- 1865 On August 5 EH and her mother embarked for England, where she continued to work as a public speaker and trance-lecturer.
- 1866 EH and her mother made a brief return visit to the United States. <73>
- 1867 EH and her mother returned to England, to live with her sister, Margaret Wilkinson, in London.
- 1869 In the Fall EH returned to the United States alone, to arrange the publication of her *Modern American Spiritualism*; her mother remained in England. (The first editions of that work in the United States and England, though dated 1869, actually appeared in 1870.)

1870-1877: Married Life in the United States

- 1870 On October 11 EH married Dr. William Britten in Jersey City, New Jersey, becoming Emma Hardinge Britten (henceforth EHB).
- 1870 In November EHB and her husband (henceforth WB) made a trip to England to bring her sister and mother to live with them at Boston. However, her sister and mother returned to England after a few months.
- 1872 EHB published *The Western Star* at Boston (July – December).
- 1875 EHB wrote and WB published *The Electric Physician; or, Self-Cure through Electricity* at Boston, where they had a practice in that specialty.
- 1875 Louis de B— visited EHB for a second time and arranged for her to edit his books, *Art Magic* and *Ghost Land*.
- 1875-76 EHB and WB were founding members of the Theosophical Society. Two of its earliest official meetings were held in their house in New York (October 16 and 30, 1875). EHB was an original member of the Theosophical Society's Council.
- 1876 WB published *Art Magic* and *Ghost Land* for Louis de B—, and held the copyrights in these works.
- 1877 The (Earlier) Theosophical Society became moribund, and EHB and WB ceased to take an active role in its affairs.

1877-1880: Pacific Lecture Tour

- 1877 EHB and WB traveled overland to California, where she lectured and published one pamphlet (see Appendix B). Throughout this tour WB served as EHB's manager.
- 1878 On January 21 EHB and WB embarked from California for Australia.
- 1878-79 EHB lectured in Australia, and wrote and published *The Faiths, Facts, and Frauds of Religious History*, one other book, and two pamphlets there (see Appendix B).
- 1879 On April 8 EHB and WB embarked from Australia to New Zealand, where she lectured and published two pamphlets (see Appendix B).

- 1879 On December 31 EHB and WB disembarked at San Francisco, where they remained <74> for several weeks. Then they traveled overland to New York, where they remained for only a few months.

1881-1899: Final Decades in England

- 1881 EHB and WB embarked for England.
- 1883-84 EHB wrote *Nineteenth Century Miracles*, which her husband published at Manchester (1883) and then at New York (1884).
- 1886 On March 31 EHB's mother, Anne Sophia Floyd, died in her 94th year.
- 1887 EHB wrote *The English Lyceum Manual* (together with A. Kitson and H. A. Kersey), which went into many later editions.
- 1887-92 EHB edited *The Two Worlds* at London for somewhat more than four years (November 1887 – February 1892); at first it was published by a company with WB as president. Later James Burns took over its publication, and in February, 1892, EHB resigned her editorship.
- 1889 EHB republished *The Faiths, Facts, and Frauds of Religious History*.
- 1892-93 EHB edited *The Unseen Universe* at Manchester (April 1892 – March 1893).
- 1894 On November 24 EHB's husband, William Britten, died, aged 73 years.
- 1899 On October 2 Emma Hardinge Britten died, aged 76 years.
- 1900 Margaret Wilkinson, EHB's sister, edited and published the "Autobiographical Sketches of the Life and Spiritual Experiences of Emma Hardinge Britten, Trance Clairvoyant and Inspirational Medium," giving it the simpler title, *Autobiography of Emma Hardinge Britten*. <75>

Appendix B

A Bibliography of Emma Hardinge Britten's Books in Chronological Order

[*Note.* This bibliography excludes her musical compositions (published under the pseudonym Ernest Reinhold), none of which I have been able to trace. It also excludes reprints of her works made after her death. However, it includes two works which she edited for Louis de B—. An asterisk (*) marks the few titles which I have not seen.]

1. Works Published as Emma Hardinge.

The Place and Mission of Woman: An Inspirational Discourse.

Boston: H. W. Swett, 1859. 12 pp.

Marriage: An Inspirational Discourse.

Boston: H. W. Swett, 1859. 11 pp.

Six Lectures on Theology and Nature.

[Chicago: n. pr.], 1860. 160 pp.

America and her Destiny.

New York: R. M. DeWitt, W. H. Tinson, 1861. 15 pp.

New York: R. M. DeWitt, ²1861. 15 pp.

The Wildfire Club.

Boston: Berry, Colby & Co., 1861. 367 pp.

A Funeral Oration on the Rev. Thos. Starr King.

San Francisco: Commercial Steam Presses; Francis, Valentine & Co., 1864. 20 pp.

The Great Funeral Oration on Abraham Lincoln.

New York: American News Co., 1865. 28 pp.

**Extemporaneous Addresses.*

London: T. Scott, [1865/6]. viii, 122 pp.

[Also published as 9 separate pamphlets; details unknown.]

**Rules for the Formation and Conduct of Spirit Circles.*

Glasgow, 1868.

Modern American Spiritualism.

New York: American News Co., 1869 [actually 1870]. 565 pp.

New York: The Author, ²1870, ³1870. 565 pp. <76>

New York: The Author, ⁴1870, ⁴1872. 560 pp.

London: J. Burns, 1869 [actually 1870]. 559 pp.

London: J. Burns, 1870. 560 pp.

2. Works Published as Emma Hardinge Britten.

Rules to be Observed When Forming Spiritual Circles.

Boston: William White, 1870. 36 pp.

Boston: William White, 1871. 45 pp.

Boston: Colby and Rich, 1887. 64 pp.

On the Spirit Circle and the Laws of Mediumship.

London: J. Burns, 1871. 15 pp.

The Western Star.

[Periodical publication edited by Emma Hardinge Britten.]

Boston, 1872. [Six issues only.]

The Electric Physician; or, Self-Cure through Electricity.

Boston: W. Britten, 1875. 59 pp.

Art Magic; or, Mundane, Sub-Mundane and Super-Mundane Spiritism: A Treatise in Three Parts and Twenty-Three Sections Descriptive of Art Magic. Spiritism, the Different Orders of Spirits in the Universe Known to be Related to, or in Communication with Man.

- [Edited by Emma Hardinge Britten for Louis de B—.]
 New York: The Author, 1876. 467 pp.
 Chicago: Progressive Thinker Publishing Co., 1898, ²1909. 366 pp.
Ghost Land; or, Researches into the Mysteries of Occultism: Illustrated in a Series of Autobiographical Sketches in Two Parts.
 [Translated and edited by Emma Hardinge Britten for Louis de B—.]
 Boston: The Editor, 1876. 484 pp.
 Chicago: Progressive Thinker Publishing Co., 1897, ²1905. 357 pp.
The King and Kingdom of Hell.
 San Francisco, 1878. 15 pp.
The Chinese Labor Question, or, the Problem of Capital versus Labour.
 Sidney, NSW: Hampson and Gibson, 1878. 15 pp.
**On the Road; or, The Spiritual Investigator: A Complete Compendium of the Science, Religion, Ethics, and Various Methods of Investigating Spiritualism.*
 Melbourne: G. Robertson, 1878. iv, 62 pp. <77>
Spiritualism: Is it a Savage Superstition?
 Melbourne: G. Robertson, 1878. 31 pp.
The Faiths, Facts and Frauds of Religious History.
 Melbourne: Robertson, 1879. 132 pp.
 London: J. Heywood, ²1889. 132 pp.
Spiritualism Vindicated and Clerical Slanders Refuted: In Answer to Mr. M. W. Green.
 Dunedin: Geo. T. Clark, 1879. 36 pp.
**On the Use of the Bible in Schools*
 [Compiled by Emma Hardinge Britten.]
 [N.p.: n.pb., n.d.] 4 pp.
Nineteenth Century Miracles.
 Manchester: W. Britten, 1883. 556 pp.
 New York: W. Britten, 1884. 556 pp.
The English Lyceum Manual
 [Written together with A. Kitson and H. A. Kersey.]
 Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1887. 87 pp.
 [And many later editions.]
The Two Worlds.
 [Periodical publication edited by Emma Hardinge Britten.]
 London, 1887-1892.
 [Five years only; continued under different editorship from 1892 onward.]
The Unseen Universe.
 [Periodical publication edited by Emma Hardinge Britten.]
 Manchester, 1892-93. [Twelve issues only.]
Autobiography of Emma Hardinge Britten.
 [Edited and published by Margaret Wilkinson.]
 London: J. Heywood, 1900. xii, 275 pp. <78>

Appendix C

Selected Notices

1. Obituary of Anne Sophia Floyd.

[*The Manchester Guardian* (2 April 1886), p. 8, col. 7:]

“On the 31st of March, at The Lindens, Cheetham Hill, in her 94th year, ANNE SOPHIA FLOYD, relict of the late Captain Floyd, of Minehead, Somersetshire.”

2. Obituary of William Britten.

[*The Manchester Guardian* (27 November 1894), p. 12, col. 7:]

“On the 24th inst., at his residence, The Lindens, Humphrey-street, Cheetham Hill, WILLIAM BRITTEN, aged 73 years. No cards.”

3. Obituary of Emma Hardinge Britten.

[*The Manchester Guardian*, 4 October 1899, p. 10, col. 8:]

“BRITTEN. — At night, on October 2, at her residence, 2, Winfield Terrace, Chester Road, Old Trafford, Mrs. EMMA HARDINGE BRITTEN. No cards.”

4. Marriage Announcement for William Britten and Emma Hardinge.

[Reprinted from an unidentified newspaper by the *Banner of Light*, 28/6 (22 October 1870), p. 4:]

“Tuesday, Oct. 11th, 1870, married, at Grace Church Rectory, Jersey City, by the Rev. J. Rice, Emma Hardinge to William G. P. Britten, both of London, England.”

5. Forwarding Address for Emma Hardinge in 1865.

[*Banner of Light*, 17/20 (5 August 1865), p. 8:]

“EMMA HARDINGE. Persons desiring information of her whereabouts can obtain it by inquiry of Mrs. E. J. French, 8 Fourth avenue, New York. Those who have occasion to write to her can address letters care of Mrs. Gilberg [*sic*] Wilkinson, 205 Cheltham Hill, Manchester, England.” <79>

Appendix D
The Best Method of Divination, also of Receiving
Communications from Spirits:
A Comparison of the Anonymous Adept in *Art Magic* and
Frederick Hockley

[The original punctuation and spelling have been preserved.]

The Anonymous Adept, as quoted by
L. de B— [*Art Magic* (1876), 419-423].

Frederick Hockley, as copied by
F. G. Irwin [Hamill (1986), 112-114].

[...] we subjoin the following communication given to a successful Adept of the present generation by a Planetary spirit – the guardian of his mirror – when questioned concerning the best method of divination, also of receiving communications from spirits. The words appeared on the mirror inscribed therein by the spirit, and were read off by the Adept.

“The best and most ancient method of divination was by the Crystal, or Urim and Thummim.

“Its origin was divine, and the inspiration, visions and communications received through this source, when man was pure and holy, were free from all human agency, wholly divine. The use of the crystal in modern times is almost as potent as the Urim and Thummim of the Jews, and provided it is in the hands of one gifted with *clear sight*, its revelations are infallible. <80>

“Spirits do not actually appear in the crystal, but the seer is magnetically assisted to look through its pellucid depths into the spirit world. In this way he or she is brought in such near contact with spirits that they can readily converse with mortals.”

Another Planetary Spirit, questioned on the same subject, said:

The Urim and Thumin [*sic*] was the first means of Divining by the Crystal,

its origin was semi-divine, from this all other means of Divining arose, that in the first place gave man a desire to obtain knowledge unknown to others so that as mortals increased in knowledge it became more used, it is the best means by which spiritual knowledge can be used or gained.

It is so closely connected with the spiritual world, that any one using it, with the gift <80> of second sight, can see thro’ that into the Spirit world,

the Spirits do not actually appear in that – but you look through it and converse with them while moving through their own sphere – in the same way that you make a window in a house to look out into the street – you will stay in your room but if you wish to converse with any one in the street you would speak and common courtesy would oblige them to answer – that is the way with Atmospheric Spirits.

“Whenever guardian spirits,
or angels of the higher orders
move in the spirit world,
the air that surrounds them is cleared
of everything that is, in any degree,
more gross than themselves.

“Thus if an atmospheric spirit meet
a more heavenly spirit, the atmospheric
spirit yields to the pressure of the air that
surrounds the other, and retires to let
him pass. In this way spirits visit the
atmosphere, and the spheres lower than
their own, also the earth, without once
coming in contact with those below him,
unless he wishes to do so. Thus, too,
when he is ‘called’ to converse with
human beings, the Invocant’s thoughts,
or rather will, immediately reach him,
and he appears separating and sending
before him all influences less angelical
than his own.

“Guardian spirits and angels of high
degree are only seen in the Urim and
Thummim, the crystal and the mirror,
the other modes of <81> divining, by
vessels of water, by circle work, by shades,
by bands, or black fluids, are only available
for seeing deceased persons, atmospheric
spirits, wandering spirits, evil or
undeveloped spirits.”

With Guardian Spirits and Spirits of
a higher plane it is rather different –
wherever they move in the Spiritual world
the air which surrounds them is cleared
of everything in any degree more gross
than themselves.

Thus if an Atmospheric Spirit meet
a Heavenly spirit the Atmospheric
Spirit yields to the pressure of air which
surrounds the other and retires to let
him pass – in this way he visits the
Atmosphere, the sphere lower than
his own and the Earth without once
coming in contact with those below him
without he wishes it – so that
when he is called on to converse with
a person the caller’s thoughts
will immediately reach him
and he appears – aspirating
before him all less angelic than his own –
whether bodily or spiritual.

Guardian spirits and those of the highest
degree are only seen in the Urim and
Thumin [*sic*], the Crystal, the Glass
and the globular <81>
vessel of water.

Unless a person study long and earnestly
the different ways of developing the Urim
and Thumin [*sic*] – with human reason for
their guide, with truth and with pure
intentions to the benefit of their body and
soul and to the good of others they can never
arrive at any perfection in Divining – they
can never place reliance upon it or arrive at
the truth, if any one wishes to begin this
study I would give him a few directions.

FORMULÆ OF NOSTRADAMUS
FOR CRYSTAL SEEING.
[woodcut of Nostradamus]

The following method, especially
commendable for its simplicity,
has been frequently employed with
success in magical evocations of
Planetary or other spirits by Adepts
in the nineteenth century.

It is selected from hundreds of
others in the author’s possession,
chiefly from the perspicuity of its

wording, and the absence of mystic assumptions.

Its composition is attributed to the celebrated Astrologer and Crystal Seer, Nostradamus.

DIRECTIONS FOR CRYSTAL SEEING.

“Having procured a good, clear stone, one that no spirit has been called into before, the Seer must determine to use it for no bad <82> purpose. I do not say determine to use it only for good purposes, because many frivolous and trifling things might occur that would induce one to use it for the knowledge of things appertaining to the world; but, having determined to use it for no bad or unholy purpose, he should dedicate it first with a fervent prayer to God.

“Do not make use of a mediator, but firmly, yet humbly, trust that God will put you in possession of a Guardian Spirit that will show you the visions you may thereafter wish.”

“Having done this, inspect the Crystal, and before asking to see any vision, ask first to see the name of your Guardian Spirit; having done this, ask to see him; when he appears, ask him to give you any advice he may deem fit in using it. Ask him to name the days and hours that he will appear, and also those on which you may call other spirits. Ask him to become the Guardian Spirit of your Crystal; to prevent any evil spirit from appearing, and to give you timely notice of anything about to happen to you that you may prevent it, or that he may prevent it for you.”

“This done, you must discharge him. He should not be kept more than half an hour at the first meeting.”

“When you invoke him the next time, exorcise with a strong and determined will three times before you ask him any questions; if at those three times he does not vanish, you may perfectly rely on him.”

“After the first time you may keep him as long as it may suit yours [*sic*] and his convenience; if he wishes to leave, he can do so without a discharge; *but* be careful that you always use a discharge after having finished of a night.” <83>

Do not make use of a mediator but firmly, yet humbly trust that God will put you in possession of a Guardian Spirit who will show you the visions you may hereafter wish – having done this inspect the Crystal and before asking to see any vision ask the name of your Guardian Spirit and having done this ask to see him and ask him to give you any advice he may think fit in using it, ask him to name the days on which he will appear, and also the days on which you may see other visions – ask him to become the Guardian Spirit of your Crystal to prevent any evil spirit from appearing, and to give you timely notice of anything about to happen to you that you may prevent it, or that he may prevent it for you – this done discharge him – he should not be kept more than half an hour at the first meeting.

When you invoke him the next time, call 3 times before you ask any questions if after that he does not vanish you may perfectly rely upon him – after the first time you may keep him as long as suits your convenience and his – if he wishes to leave he can do so without discharge – but be careful that you always use a discharge after having finished off a sight. <83>

“When invoking any Atmospheric Spirit, or a Spirit of any inferior degree, such as those of

living as well as dead people, always use the term ‘if convenient and agreeable,’ etc.; or, ‘at your pleasure;’ but more particularly of a living person; to your Guardian Spirit, or a Spirit of a High order, it is not necessary.”

“But above all do not use it in any way, or make it directly or indirectly an object for the gaining of money. It may appear to go on smoothly for a few times. You may have the information and the visions you wish for; but in the end the consequences are lamentable, and they come sooner or later.”

“When you have got used to a Crystal, feel confidence in it, and assured in many ways of the Truth of it, then you can use a Mirror, which is by a very great deal the best.”

“The Mirror is to be used the same as a Crystal, but from seeing visions so large and life-like, and from the size of the aperture which is made by that into the spiritual world, it enables you to come more closely in contact with the spirits you address.

“Of all the modes of divining this is the easiest and the best, the information is given slowly at first, then gradually more and more, until you reach the grand height of all human knowledge upon spiritual matters, until you know as much as the human mind can in any way comprehend of what passes beyond its own World.”

<84>

In invoking Atmospheric spirits or a Spirit of an inferior degree such as those of the [*Sun and Jupiter glyphs*] the Atmospheric spirits of being [*siz*] as well as of dead people always use the term if convenient and agreeable at your pleasure, but more particularly of a living person, to a spirit of a higher order or your G[uardian] S[pirit] it is not necessary but above all do not make it any way directly or indirectly an object for gaining money, it may appear to go on well for a few times, you may have the information, and the visions, you wish – but in the end the consequences are lamentable, and they come sooner or later.

When you have become used to the Crystal – full confidence in it – and assured in many ways of the truth of it – then you can use the mirror which is a great deal the best –

this is used in the same manner as the Crystal, but from seeing visions so large and life like and from the size of the hole which is made in the Spiritual wall it enables you to come more closely in contact with the Spirits you address.

Of all the modes of Divinity this is the easiest and the best, the information is given slowly at first and gradually quicker and quicker until you reach the Grand Height of all human knowledge upon Spiritual matters until you know as much as the human mind can in any way comprehend of what passes beyond its own world.

By the allegorical picture of the City of human habitations, and the wall that surrounds in [*siz*] – I mean the world and its inhabitants – the space above it, the atmosphere, the walls <84> that surround it the bounds of human knowledge unassisted by spiritual aid – and the holes in those walls which so few could reach – the way of attaining the true and the only true method of divining – when there you are still liable to great error unless helped and directed by your Guardian Spirit – the water which surrounds that wall is what is termed by men hell – the space above the atmosphere, and the seven

that tower above that the spheres of
Happiness.

[Here Irwin's extract ends; what follows is only in *Art Magic*.]

THE CALL.

"In the name of the Almighty God, in whom we live and move and have our being, I humbly beseech the Guardian Spirit of this Mirror or Crystal to appear.

"When appeared you can ask your questions, and obtain instructions as to Calling – asking when he will allow you to call him again, and fix his time for appearing."

FOR A VISION.

"In the name, etc., I humbly beseech the Spirit of this Mirror to favor me with a Vision that will interest or instruct us, (or favor us with a vision of such and such a place or event, etc.)"

TO SEE A PERSON.

"In the name, etc. Then say, R. B. be pleased to appear in this Mirror if convenient and agreeable. (Never fail in this.)"

EXORCISM.

"In the name of the Almighty God, in whom we live and move and have our being, I dismiss the Spirit now visible in this Mirror if he is not" — "or if he is not a good and truthful Spirit."

"This must be said very intently and strongly three times, with the finger upon the Crystal, whenever a Spirit is from any cause suspected." <85>

DISCHARGE.

"In the name, etc., I dismiss from this Mirror all Spirits that may have appeared therein, and the peace of GOD be between them and us forever."

"This must be said three times upon closing, even if Spirits are not seen, as they may have entered, and its neglect will soon spoil the Mirror or Crystal." <86>

Appendix E

A Bibliography of Ernest de Bunsen's Books in Chronological Order

[Note: I supply English translations of the titles of works published in German.]

The Hidden Wisdom of Christ and the Key of Knowledge; or, History of the Apocrypha.

London: Longman, Green, Roberts, & Green, 1865. 2 vols.

The Keys of Saint Peter; or, the House of Rechab, Connected with the History of Symbolism and Idolatry.

London: Longmans, Green, 1867. 422 pp.

Die Einheit der Religionen im Zusammenhange mit den Völkerwanderungen der Urzeit und der Geheimlehre. [= "The Unity of Religions in Connection with the Wanderings of Ancient Peoples and the Secret Doctrine."]

Berlin: Mitscher & Röstel, 1870. 2 vols.

The Chronology of the Bible Connected with Contemporaneous Events in the History of Babylonians, Assyrians and Egyptians. Preface by A. H. Sayce.

London: Longmans, Green, 1874. xiv, 138 pp.

Biblische Gleichzeitigkeiten, oder, übereinstimmende Zeitrechnung bei Babyloniern, Assyriern, Ägyptern und Hebräern. [= "Biblical Synchronisms, or, the Chronology of the Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians and Hebrews Made to Agree."]

Berlin: Mitscher & Röstel, 1875. 143 pp., folded tables.

Das Symbol des Kreuzes bei allen Nationen und die Entstehung des Kreuz-Symbols der christlichen Kirche. [= "The Symbol of the Cross among All the Nations and the Origin of the Christian Church's Cross-Symbol."]

Berlin: Mitscher & Röstel, 1876. 237 pp.

Die Plejaden und der Thierkreis, oder, Das Geheimniss der Symbole. [= "The Pleiades and the Zodiac, or the Secret of the Symbols."]

Berlin: Mitscher & Röstel, G. Bernstein, 1879. xviii, 464 pp.

The Angel-Messiah of Buddhists, Essenes, and Christians.

London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1880. xii, 383 pp.

Die Überlieferung: ihre Entstehung und Entwicklung. [= "The Tradition: Its Origin and Development."]

Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1889. 2 vols. <87>

Essays on Church History. Islam or True Christianity, Including a Chapter on Mahomed's Place in the Church.

London: Trübner, 1889. xii, 176 pp., [1] f. plates.

Essays on Church History. Origin and Development of the Trinitarian Doctrine.

[= 1. Solar System in the Holy of Holies as the Possible Origin of the Trinitarian Doctrine.
2. On the Doctrine of Three Persons and One God.]

London – Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1890. 35 pp.

Die Reconstruction der kirchlichen Autorität. [= "The Reconstruction of Ecclesiastical Authority."]

Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1892. iv, 98 pp.

[Note also the following very early works compiled or translated by Ernest de Bunsen:]

Hymns for Public Worship and Private Devotion for the Benefit of the London German Hospital, Dalston.

London: J. Hatchard, 1848. xii, 168 pp.

Dixon, William Hepworth. *William Penn; oder, die Zustände Englands, 1644-1718.*

[= "William Penn, or Conditions in England, 1644-1718."]

Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1854. 214 pp.

[A free translation of William Hepworth Dixon's *William Penn: An Historical Biography* (1851).] <88>